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OBSERVATIONS
ON
THE FAIRY QUEEN
OF
SPENSER.

By THOMAS WARTON, A. M.

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POETRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

A NEW EDITION.

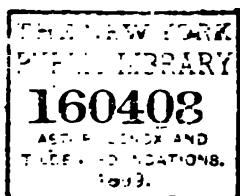
VOL. I.

London :

Printed by C. Stower, Pater-noster Row ;

FOR R. DUTTON, GRACECHURCH-STREET ; AND THOMAS OSTELL,
AVE-MARIA LANE.

1807.



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ON
THE FAIRY QUEEN
OF
SPENSER.

SECT I.

Of the plan and conduct of the Fairy Queen.

WHEN the works of Homer and of Aristotle began to be restored and studied in Italy, when the genuine and uncorrupted sources of ancient poetry and ancient criticism were opened, and every species of literature at last emerged from the depths of Gothic ignorance and barbarity, it might have been expected, that, instead of the romantic manner of poetical composi-

tion introduced and established by the Pro-
 vencial bards, a new and more legitimate
 taste of writing would have succeeded. With
 these advantages it was reasonable to con-
 clude, that unnatural events, the machina-
 tions of imaginary beings, and adventures
 entertaining only as they were improbable,
 would have given place to justness of thought
 and design, and to that decorum which
 nature dictated, and which the example and
 the precept of antiquity had authorised.
 But it was a long time before such a change
 was effected. We find Ariosto, many years
 after the revival of letters, rejecting truth for
 magic, and preferring the ridiculous and in-
 coherent excursions of Boyardo, to the pro-
 priety and uniformity of the Grecian and
 Roman models. Nor did the restoration of
 ancient learning produce any effectual or
 immediate improvement in the state of criti-
 cism. Beni, one of the most celebrated critics
 of the sixteenth century, was still so infatuated

with a fondness for the old Provencial vein, that he ventured to write a regular dissertation*, in which he compares Ariosto with Homer.

Trissino, who flourished a few † years after Ariosto, had taste and boldness enough to publish an epic poem‡, written in professed imitation of the Iliad. But this attempt met with little regard or applause for the reason on which its real merit was founded. It was rejected as an insipid and uninteresting performance, having few devils or enchantments to recommend it. To Trissino succeeded Tasso, who, in his *Gierusalemme Liberata*, took the ancients for his guides; but was still too

* Comparazione di T. Tasso con Omero e Virgilio, insieme con la difesa dell' Ariosto paragonato ad Omero, &c.

† He died 1550. Ariosto 1535.

‡ *L'Italia Liberata* di Goti, 1524. It is in blank verse, which the author would have introduced instead of the *Terza Rima* of Dante, or the *Ottava* of Boccaccio.

sensible of the popular prejudice in favour of ideal beings, and romantic adventures, to neglect or omit them entirely. He had studied, and acknowledged the beauties of classical purity. Yet he still kept his first and favourite acquaintance, the old Provençal poets, in his eye. Like his own Rinaldo, who after he had gazed on the diamond shield of truth, and with seeming resolution was actually departing from Armida and her enchanted gardens, could not help looking back upon them with some remains of fondness. Nor did Tasso's Poem, though composed in some measure on a regular plan, give its author, among the Italians at least, any greater share of esteem and reputation on that account. Ariosto, with all his extravagancies, was still preferred. The superiority of the *Orlando Furioso* was at length established by a formal decree of the academicians della Crusca, who, amongst other literary debates, held a solemn court

of inquiry concerning the merit of both poems.

Such was the prevailing taste, when Spenser projected the *Fairy Queen*: a poem, which according to the practice of Ariosto, was to consist of allegories, enchantments, and romantic expeditions, conducted by knights, giants, magicians, and fictitious beings. It may be urged, that Spenser made an unfortunate choice, and discovered but little judgment, in adopting Ariosto for his example, rather than Tasso, who had so evidently exceeded his rival, at least in conduct and decorum. But our author naturally followed the poem which was most celebrated and popular. For although the French critics universally gave the preference to Tasso, yet, in Italy, the partisans on the side of Ariosto were by far the most powerful, and consequently in England: for Italy, in the age of queen Elizabeth, gave laws to our island in

all matters of taste, as France has done ever since. At the same time it may be supposed, that, of the two, Ariosto was Spenser's favourite; and that he was naturally biassed to prefer that plan which would admit the most extensive range for his unlimited imagination. What was Spenser's particular plan, in consequence of this choice, and how it was conducted, I now proceed to examine.

The poet * supposes, that the FAERIE QUEENE, according to an established annual custom, held a magnificent feast, which continued twelve days; on each of which, respectively, twelve several complaints are presented before her. Accordingly, in order to redress the injuries which were the occasion of these several complaints, she dispatches, with proper commissions, twelve different Knights, each of which, in the particular adventure allotted to him, proves an

* See Spenser's Letter to Sir W. Raleigh, &c.

example of some particular virtue, as of holiness, temperance, justice, chastity; and has one complete book assigned to him, of which he is the hero. But besides these twelve knights, severally exemplifying twelve moral virtues, the poet has constituted one principal knight, or general hero, viz. Prince Arthur. This personage represents magnificence; a virtue which is supposed to be the perfection of all the rest. He moreover assists in every book, and the end of his actions is to discover, and win, Gloriana, or Glory. In a word, in this character the poet professes to pourtray, "The image of a brave Knight perfected in the twelve private moral Virtues."

It is evident that our author in establishing one hero, who seeking and attaining one grand end, which is Gloriana, should exemplify one grand character, or a brave Knight perfected in the twelve private moral virtues,

copied the cast and construction of the ancient Epic. But sensible as he was of the importance and expediency of the unity of the hero and of his design, he does not, in the mean time, seem convinced of the necessity of that unity of action, by the means of which such a design should be properly accomplished. At least, he has not followed the method practised by Homer and Virgil, in conducting their respective heroes to the proposed end.

It may be asked with great propriety, how does Arthur execute the grand, simple, and ultimate design, intended by the poet? It may be answered, with some degree of plausibility, that by lending his respective assistance to each of the twelve Knights, who patronize the twelve virtues, in his allotted defence of each, Arthur approaches still nearer and nearer to Glory, till at last he gains a complete possession. But surely to

assist is not a sufficient service. This secondary merit is inadequate to the reward. The poet ought to have made this "brave Knight" the leading adventurer. Arthur should have been the principal agent in vindicating the cause of holiness, temperance, and the rest. If our hero had thus, in his own person, exerted himself in the protection of the twelve virtues, he might have been deservedly styled the perfect Pattern of all, and consequently would have succeeded in the task assigned, the attainment of glory. At present he is only a subordinate or accessory character. The difficulties and obstacles which we expect him to surmount, in order to accomplish his final achievement, are removed by others. It is not he who subdues the dragon, in the first book, or quells the magician Busirane, in the third. These are the victories of St. George and of Britomart. On the whole, the twelve Knights do too much for Arthur

to do any thing ; or at least, so much as may be reasonably required from the promised plan of the poet. While we are attending to the design of the hero of the book, we forget that of the hero of the poem. Dryden remarks—" We must do Spenser that justice to observe, that magnanimity [magnificence] which is the true character of Prince Arthur, shines throughout the whole poem ; and succours the rest when they are in distress*." If the magnanimity of Arthur did, in reality, thus shine in every part of the poem with a superior and steady lustre, our author would fairly stand acquitted. At present it bursts forth but seldom, in obscure and interrupted flashes.—" To succour the rest when they are in distress," is, as I have hinted, a circumstance of too little importance in the character of this universal champion. It is a

* Dedication to the translation of Juvenal.

service to be performed in the cause of the hero of the Epic Poem by some dependent or inferior chief, the business of a Gyas or a Cloanthus.

On the whole, we may observe, that Spenser's adventures, separately taken as the subject of each single book, have not always a mutual dependence upon each other, and consequently do not properly contribute to constitute one legitimate poem. Hughes not considering this, has advanced a remark in commendation of Spenser's critical conduct, which is indeed one of the most blameable parts of it.—“ If we consider the first book as an entire work of itself, we shall find it to be no irregular contrivance. There is one principal action, which is completed in the twelfth canto, and the several incidents are proper, as they tend either to obstruct or promote it*.”

* Remarks on the Fairy Queen. Hughes's Edit. of Spenser, vol. 1.

As the heroic poem is required to be a *whole*, compounded of many various parts, each part is relative and dependent; it is expedient that not one of those parts should be so regularly contrived, and so completely finished, as to become a *whole* of itself. For the reader being once satisfied in arriving at the summation of an orderly series of events, acquiesces in that satisfaction. Our attention and curiosity are in the midst diverted by pursuing, with due vigour, the final general catastrophe. But while each part is left incomplete, if separated from the whole, the mind still eager to gratify its expectations, is irresistibly and imperceptibly drawn from part to part, 'till it receives the ultimate satisfaction from the accompaniment of one great event, which all those particulars following and illustrating each other have contributed to produce.

Our author was probably :

constituting twelve several adventures for twelve several heroes, the want of a general connexion would often appear. On this account, as I presume, he sometimes resumes and finishes in some distant book, a tale formerly begun and left imperfect. But as numberless interruptions necessarily intervene, this proceeding often occasions infinite perplexity to the reader. And it seems to be for the same reason, that after one of the twelve Knights had achieved the adventure of his proper book, the poet introduces him, in the next book, acting perhaps in an inferior sphere, and degraded to some less dangerous exploit. But this conduct is highly inartificial : for it destroys that repose which the mind feels after having accompanied a hero, through manifold struggles and various distresses, to success and victory. Besides, when we perceive him entering upon any less illustrious attempt, our former admiration is in some measure diminished. Having

seen him complete some memorable conquest, we become interested in his honour, and are jealous concerning his future reputation. To attempt, and even to achieve, some petty posterior enterprise, is to derogate from his dignity, and to sully the transcendent lustre of his former victories.

Spenser perhaps would have embarrassed himself and the reader less, had he made every book one entire detached poem of twelve cantos, without any reference to the rest. Thus he would have written twelve different books, in each of which he might have completed the pattern of a particular virtue in twelve Knights respectively: at present he has remarkably failed, in endeavouring to represent all the virtues exemplified in one. The poet might either have established *twelve Knights*, without an *Arthur*, or an *Arthur* without *twelve Knights*. Upon supposition that Spenser was resolved to characterize the

twelve moral virtues, the former plan perhaps would have been best : the latter is defective as it necessarily wants simplicity. It is an action consisting of twelve actions, all equally great and unconnected between themselves, and not compounded of one uninterrupted and coherent chain of incidents, tending to the accomplishment of one design.

I have before remarked, that Spenser intended to express the character of a hero perfected in the twelve moral virtues, by representing him as assisting in the service of all, till at last he becomes possessed of all. This plan, however injudicious, he certainly was obliged to observe. But in the third book, which is styled the Legend of Chastity, Prince Arthur does not so much as lend his assistance in the vindication of that virtue. He appears indeed ; but not as an agent, or even an auxiliary, in the adventure of the book.

Yet it must be confessed, that there is something artificial in the poet's manner of varying from historical precision. This conduct is rationally illustrated by himself*. According to this plan, the reader would have been agreeably surprised in the last book, when he came to discover that the series of adventures, which he had just seen completed, were undertaken at the command of the Fairy Queen; and that the Knights had severally set forward to the execution of them, from her annual birth-day festival. But Spenser, in most of the books, has injudiciously forestalled the first of these particulars; which certainly should have been concealed 'till the last book, not only that a needless repetition of the same thing might be prevented, but that an opportunity might be secured of striking the reader's mind with a circumstance new and unexpected.

* Letter to Sir W. Raleigh.

But notwithstanding the plan and conduct of Spenser, in the poem before us, is highly exceptionable, yet we may venture to pronounce, that the scholar has more merit than his master in this respect; and that the *Fairy Queen* is not so confused and irregular as the *Orlando Furioso*. There is indeed no general unity which prevails in the former; but if we consider every book or adventure as a separate poem we shall meet with so many distinct, however imperfect, unites, by which an attentive reader is less bewildered, than in the maze of indigestion, and incoherence, of which the latter totally consists, where we seek in vain either for partial or universal integrity.

—Cum nec pes nec caput uni
Reddatur *Formæ**.—

Ariosto has his admirers, and most de-

* Hor. Art. Poet. v. 8.

servedly. Yet every classical, every reasonable critic must acknowledge, that the poet's conception in celebrating the *madness*, or, in other words, describing the irrational acts of a hero, implies extravagance and absurdity. Orlando does not make his appearance till the eighth book, where he is placed in a situation not perfectly heroic. He is discovered to us in bed, desiring to sleep. His ultimate design is to find Angelica, but his pursuit of her is broken off in the thirtieth book; after which there are sixteen books, in none of which Angelica has the least share. Other heroes are likewise engaged in the same pursuit. After reading the first stanza, we are inclined to think, that the subject of the poem is the expedition of the Moors into France, under the emperor Agramanta, to fight against Charlamagne; but this business is the most insignificant and inconsiderable part of it. Many of the heroes perform exploits equal,

if not superior, to those of Orlando ; particularly Ruggiero, who closes the poem with a grand and important achievement, the conquest and death of Rodomont. But this event is not the completion of a story carried on, principally and perpetually, through the work.

This spirited Italian passes from one incident to another, and from region to region, with such incredible expedition and rapidity, that one would think he was mounted upon his winged steed Ippogrifo. Within the compass of ten stanzas, he is in England and the Hesperides, in the earth and the moon. He begins the history of a knight in Europe, and suddenly breaks it off to resume the unfinished catastrophe of another in Asia. The reader's imagination is distracted, and his attention harrassed, amidst the multiplicity of tales, in the relation of which the poet is at the same instant equally engaged. To

remedy this inconvenience, the compassionate expositors have affixed, in some of the editions, marginal hints, informing the bewildered reader in what book and stanza the poet intends to recommence an interrupted episode. This expedient reminds us of the awkward artifice practised by the first painters. However, it has proved the means of giving Ariosto's admirers a clear comprehension of his stories, which otherwise they could not have obtained, without much difficulty. This poet is seldom read a second time in order; that is, by passing from the first canto to the second, and from the second to the rest in succession: by thus pursuing, without any regard to the proper course of the books and stanzas, the different tales, which though all somewhere finished, yet are at present so mutually complicated, that the incidents of one are perpetually clashing with those of another. The judicious Abbe du Bos observes, happily enough, that "Homer is a

geometrician in comparison of Ariosto."—
His miscellaneous contents cannot be better
expressed than by the two first verses of his
exordium.

Le Donni, i Cavallier, l'Arme, gli Amori,
Le Cortegie, le' audaci Imprese, io canto*.

But it is absurd to think of judging either
Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they
did not attend to. We who live in the days
of writing by rule, are apt to try every
composition by those laws which we have
been taught to think the sole criterion of ex-
cellence. Critical taste is universally diffused,
and we require the same order and design
which every modern performance is expected
to have, in poems where they never were
regarded or intended. Spenser, and the
same may be said of Ariosto, did not live in
an age of planning. His poetry is the care-

* Orl. Fur. c. 1. s. 1.

less exuberance of a warm imagination and a strong sensibility. It was his business to engage the fancy, and to interest the attention by bold and striking images*, in the formation, and the disposition of which, little labour or art was applied. The various and the marvellous were the chief sources of delight. Hence we find our author ransacking alike the regions of reality and romance, of truth and fiction, to find the proper decorations and furniture for his fairy structure. Born in such an age, Spenser wrote rapidly from his own feelings, which at the same time were naturally noble. Exactness in his poem,

* Montesquieu has partly characterised Spenser, in the judgement he has passed upon the English poets, which is not true with regard to all of them.—“ *Leurs poetes auroient plus souvent cette rudesse originale de l'invention, qu' une certaine delicatesse que donne le gout: on y trouveroit quelque chose qui approcheroit plu de la force de M. Ange, que de la grace du Raphael.*” *L'Esprit du Loix*, liv. 19. chap. 27. The French critics are too apt to form their general notions of English poetry, from our fondness for Shakspeare.

would have been like the cornice which a painter introduced in the grotto of Calypso, Spenser's beauties are like the flowers in Paradise.

——Which not nice art
 In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
 Pour'd forth profuse, on hill, and dale, and plain;
 Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
 The open field, or where the unpierced shade
 Imbrown'd the noon-tide bowers*,——

If the Fairy Queen be destitute of that arrangement and œconomy which epic severity requires, yet we scarcely regret the loss of these, while their place is so amply supplied by something which more powerfully attract us: something which engages the affections, the feelings of the heart, rather than the cold approbation of the head. If there be any poem whose graces please, because they are situated beyond the reach

* *Parad. Lost*, b. iv. v. 241.

of art, and where the force and faculties of creative imagination delight, because they are unassisted and unrestrained by those of deliberate judgment, it is this. In reading Spenser, if the critic is not satisfied, yet the reader is transported.

SECT. II.

Of Spenser's Imitations from old Romances.

ALTHOUGH Spenser formed his Faerie Queene upon the fanciful plan of Ariosto, yet it must be confessed, that the adventures of his knights are a more exact and immediate copy of those which we meet with in old romances, or books of chivalry, than of those which form the Orlando Furioso. Ariosto's knights exhibit surprising examples of their prowess, and achieve many heroic actions. But our author's knights are more professedly engaged in revenging injuries, and doing justice to the distressed; which was the proper business, and ultimate end of the ancient knight-errantry. And thus, though many of Spenser's incidents are to be found in Ariosto, such as that of blowing a horn, at the sound

of which the gates of a castle fly open, of the vanishing of an enchanted palace or garden, after some knight has destroyed the enchanter, and the like; yet these are not more peculiarly the property of Ariosto, than they are common to all ancient romances in general. Spenser's first book is, indeed, a regular and precise imitation of such a series of action as we frequently find in books of chivalry. For instance—a king's daughter applies to a knight, that he would relieve her father and mother, who are closely confined to their castle upon account of a vast and terrible dragon, that had ravaged their country, and perpetually laid wait to destroy them. The knight sets forward with the lady, encounters a monster in the way, is plotted against by an enchanter, and after surmounting a variety of difficulties and obstacles, arrives at the country which is the scene of the dragon's devastation, kills him, and is presented to the king and queen

whom he has just delivered ; marries their daughter, but is soon obliged to leave her, on account of fulfilling a former vow.

It may be moreover observed, that the circumstance of each of Spenser's twelve knights departing from one place by a different way, to perform a different adventure, exactly resembles that of the seven knights entering upon their several expeditions, in the well-known romance, entitled the Seven Champions of Christendom. In fact, these miraculous books were highly fashionable, and chivalry, which was the subject of them, was still practised and admired, in the age of Queen Elizabeth*.

Among others, there is one romance which Spenser seems more particularly to have made use of. It is entitled, " Morte Arthur, The

* See Hollinshead's Chronicles, vol. iii. p. 1315.

Lyf of Kyng Arthur, of the noble Knyghtes of the round table, and in thende the dolorous deth of them all."—This was translated into English from the French, by one Sir Thomas Maleory, knight, and printed by W. Caxton, 1484*. From this fabulous history our author has borrowed many of his names, viz. Sir Tristram, Placidus, Pelleas, Pellenore, Percivall, and others. As to Sir Tristram, he has copied from this book the circumstances of his birth and education with much exactness. Spenser informs us, that Sir Tristram was born in Cornwall, &c.

And Tristram is my name, the only heire
Of good king Meliograss, which did raigne
In Cornewaile.——6. 2. 28.

And afterwards.

——The contrie wherein I was bred
The which the fertile Lionesse is hight. St. 30.

* This Book has been reprinted twice or thrice. The last edition is dated 1634.

These particulars are drawn from the romance above-mentioned.—“ There was a knight Meliodas [Meliogras], and he was lord and king of the country of Lyones—and he wedded King Marke’s sister, of Cornewale.” The issue of which marriage, as we are afterwards told, was Sir Tristram*. Mention is then made in our romance, of Sir Tristram’s banishment from Lyones into a distant country, by the advice, and under the conduct, of a wise and learned counsellor named Governale. A circumstance alluded to by Spenser in these verses.

So taking counsel of a wise man red,
 She was by him adviz’d, to send me quight
 Out of the countrie, wherein I was bred,
 The which the fertile Lionesse is height. 6. 2. 30.

Sir Tristram’s education is thus described below. St. 31.

* Book ii, chap. i.

All which my dayes I have not lowdly spent,
 Nor split the blossom of my tender yeares
 In ydlesse, but as was convenient,
 Have trained bene with many noble feres
 In gentle thewes, and such like semely leres ;
 'Mongst which my most delight has always beene
 To hunt the savage chace among my peres
 Of all that raungeth in the forest greene,
 Of which none is to me unknown that e'er was seene.

XXXII.

Ne is there hawke that mantleth her on pearch
 Whether high-tow'ring, or accoasting lowe,
 But I the measure of her flight do search,
 And all her pray, and all her dyet knowe.

All this is agreeable to what is related in the romance. After mention being made of Tristram's having learned the language of France, courtly behaviour, and skill in chivalry, we read the following passage—"As he grew in might and strength, he laboured ever in hunting and hawking ; so that we never read of no gentleman, more, that so used himselfe therein.—And he began good

measures of blowing of blasts of venery [hunting] and chase, and of all manner of vermeins; and all these terms have we yet of hawking and hunting, and therefore the booke of venery, of hawking and hunting, is called *The Book of Sir Tristram**.—And in another place King Arthur thus addresses Sir Tristram—“For of all manner of hunting thou bearest the prise; and of all measures of blowing thou art the beginner; and of all the termes of hunting and hawking ye are the beginner†.”

In Tuberville's treatise of Falconrie, &c. Sir Tristram is often introduced as the patron of field-sports. A huntsman thus speaks—

Before the King I come report to make,
Then hush and peace for noble Tristram's sake †.

And in another place—

* Book ii. chap. 3.

† B. ii. c. 91.

‡ Edit. 4to. 1611. p. 96.

Wherefore who lyst to learn the perfect trade
 Of venerie, &c.——
 Let him give ear to skilfull Tristram's lore*.

Many of the precepts contained in the Book of Sir Tristram are often referred to in this treatise of Tuberville.

From this romance our author also took the hint of his Blatant Beast, which is there called the Questing Beast †.—“ Therewithall the King saw coming towards him the strangest beast that ever he saw, or heard tell off.—And the noise was in the beasts belly like unto the Questin of thirtie couple of hounds.”—The Questing Beast is afterwards more particularly described, “ That had irshap an head like a serpent's head, and a body like a liberd, buttocks like a lyon, and footed like a hart ; and in his body there was such a

* Page 40. See also Mort. Arth. b. ii. c. 138.

† B. ii. c. 53.

noyse, as it had been the noyse of thirtie couple of hounds *Questyn*, and such a noyse that beast made, wheresoever he went*”—Spenser has made him a much more monstrous animal than he is here represented to be, and in general has varied from this description. But there is one circumstance in Spenser's representation, in which there is a minute resemblance, viz.—speaking of his mouth,

And therein were a thousand tongues empight,
Of sundry kindes, and sundry qualities,
Some were of dogs that barked night and day.
And some, &c.———6. 12. 27.
So dreadfully his hundred tongues did bray.

5. 12. 41.

By what had been hitherto said, perhaps the reader may not be persuaded, that Spenser,

* He is also called the Glatissant Beast, *ibid.* B. ii. c. 98.—“Tell them that I am the knight that followeth the Glatissant Beast; that is to say, in English, the Questing Beast, &c.”

in his Blatant Beast, had the Questing Beast of our romance in his eye. But the poet has himself taken care to inform us of this: for we learn, from the romance, that certain knights of the round table were destined to pursue the Questing Beast perpetually without success; which Spenser, speaking of this Blatant Beast, hints at in these lines—

Albe that long time after Calidore,
The good Sir Pelleas him took in hand,
And after him Sir Lamoracke of yore,
And all his brethren born in Britaine land,
Yet none of these could ever bring him into band.

6. 12. 39.

Sir Lamoracke and Sir Pelleas are two very valourous champions of Arthur's round table.

This romance supplied our author with the story of the mantle made of the * beards of

* Immense beards seem to have had a wonderful influence in the proper æconomy of an enchantment. Thus

knights, and locks of ladies. The last circumstance is added by Spenser.

For may no knight or ladie passe along
That way (and yet they needs must passe that way)
By reason of the streight and rocks among,
But they that ladies lockes do shave away,
And that knights beards for toll, which they for passage
pay.

6. 1. 13.

Afterwards,

His name is Crudor, who through high disdaine,
And proud despyght of his self-pleasing mynd,
Refused hath to yeald her love againe,
Until a mantle she for him do find,
With berds of knights, and locks of ladies lynd.

6. 3. 15.

we see the barber, who was to personate the Squire of the Princess Micomicona has "una gran barba, &c."—D. Quix. parte prim. c. 26. libro 8.

And the Countess of Trifaldi's Squire is described parte 2. lib. vii. c. 36. as wearing "la mas larga, la mas horrida, &c."

Thus in *Morte Arthur*.—"Came a messenger,
—' saying that king Ryence had discomfited,
and overcomen eleaven knights, and everiche
of them did him homage ; and that was this :
they gave him their beards cleane flayne of as
much as there was : wherefore the messenger
came for King Arthur's berd : for King Ryence
had purfeled a mantell with king's beards,
and there lacked for one place of the mantell.
Wherefore he sent for his berd ; or else hee
would enter into his lands, and brenn and sley,
and never leave, till he have thy head and
beard*.' "—After this passage we have an an-
cient ballad†, the subject of which is this
insolent demand of King Rynce. Drayton‡,
in his *Polyolbion*, speaks of a coat composed
of the beards of kings. He is celebrating
King Arthur.

* B. i. c. 24.

† This is also printed in P. Enderbury's *Cambria Tri-
umphans*, Lond. p. 197.

‡ I must take this opportunity of mentioning a circum-

As how great Rithout's self, he slew in his repair,
 And ravisht Howel's niece, young Helena the fair.
 And for a trophie brought the giant's coat away,
 Made of the beards of kings.———*

But Drayton, in these lines, manifestly alludes to a passage in Geoffrey of Monmouth; who informs us, that a Spanish giant, named Ritho, having forcibly conveyed away from her guard Helena the niece of Duke Hoel, possessed himself of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, from whence he made frequent sallies, and committed various outrages; that,

stance relating to Drayton's tomb in Westminster Abbey, which is erected near that of Spenser. Heylin informs us, that Drayton was not buried in the south isle of the church, where his monument is now to be seen; but under the north wall, near a little door which opens to one of the prebendal houses. This Heylin affirms from his own knowledge, he being invited to Drayton's funeral. Appeal of Inj. Innocence, page 42. part. ii. subjoined to Fuller's Ch. Hist. Ed. 1655. Bayle would have expended a folio page in adjusting such a point as this.

* Song 4.

at last, King Arthur conquered this giant, and took from him a certain coat which he had been composing of the beards of kings, a vacant place being left for King Arthur's beard*.

And though further proofs of Spenser's copying this romance are perhaps superfluous, I shall add, that Spenser has quoted an authority, for an ancient custom from *Morte Arthur*, in his "State of Ireland."—"The knights in antient times used to wear their mistresses or lover's sleeve upon their arms, as appeareth by that which is written of Sir Launcelot, that he wore the sleeve of the faire maid of Asteloth in a tournay: whereat Queen Genever was much displeased†."—This is the passage—"When Queen Genever wist that Sir Launcelot beare

* Orig. and Gest. Rest. Brit. B. x. 13.

† Hughes's Edit. vol. vi. page 114. Edit. 1750,

the red sleeve of the faire Maide of Astolat,
she was nigh out of her minde for anger*."

There is great reason to conclude, not only from what has already been mentioned concerning Spenser's imitations from this romantic history of King Arthur and his knights, but from some circumstances which I shall now produce, that it was a favourite and reigning romance about the age of Queen Elizabeth, or at least one very well known and much read at that time. Spenser, in the "Shepherd's Kalendar," has the following passage—

And whither rennes this bevie of ladies bright
Raunged in a row ?
They been all ladies of the lake behight,
That unto her go†.

Upon the words "Ladies of the Lake,"

* Mort. Arth, p. 3. ch. 119. † Aprill.

E.K. the old commentator on the pastorals has left us the following remark—"Ladies of the Lake be nymphes: for it was an old opinion among the antient heathens, that of every spring and fountaine was a goddesse the souveraine; which opinion stucke in the minds of men not many years since by meanes of certain fine fablers, or loose lyers; such as were the authors of King Arthur the Great.—Who tell many an unlawfull leeing of the 'Ladies of the Lake.'—These fine fablers or loose lyers, are the authors of the romance above mentioned, viz. Morte Arthure, where many miracles are performed, and much enchantment is conducted, by the means and interposition of the "Lady of the Lake."—Now it should be observed, that the "Lady of the Lake" was introduced to make part of Queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenelworth; as an evidence of which, I shall produce a passage from an ancient book, entitled, "A

Letter, wherein part of the Entertainment unto the Queen's Majesty at Killinworth Castle in Warwicksheer in this Soomer's progress, 1575, is signified*."—The passage is this—

• Killingworth castle was early made the theatre of romantic gallantries ; and was the place where tilts and tournaments, after a long disuse, were re-established in their original splendour by Roger earl of Mortimer, in the reign of Edward I. Thus Earl Mortimer, his grandson, to Q. Isabell, in Drayton's Heroical Epistles.

My grandson was the first since Arthur's reign
That the round table rectified again ;
To whose great court at Kenilworth did come
The peerless knighthood of all Christendom. V. 53

"Where," says the note, "Roger Mortimer erected the round table at Kenilworth, after the antient order of King Arthur's table, with the retinue of an hundred knights, and a hundred ladies in his house, for the entertaining such adventurers as came thither from all parts of Christendom."—Walsingham mentions the re-establishment of this table at Kenilworth. Hearne has printed from the Red Book of the Exchequer, a curious Latin instrument of Richard I. concerning the places of holding tournaments in England, where Kenilworth is specified among the rest. I will give it in English at length.

“ Her highness all along this tilt-yard rode unto the inner gate, next the baze coourt of the castle ; whear the ‘ Lady of the Lake’ (famous in King Arthur’s book) with too nymphes wayting upon her, arrayed all in

“ Richard, by the grace of God, &c. to the Reverend Father in Christ, Hubert, Arch. of Cant. &c. greeting. Know, that we have permitted turnaments to be held in England, in five places ; between Sarum and Wilton, between Warewicke and Kenclingworthe, between Stamford and Warrinford [Wallingford], between Brakeley and Mixebury, between Blie and Tyke-hill, yet so that the peace of our land be not broken, nor justice hindered, nor damage done to our forests. And an earl, who shall turney there, shall pay us twenty marcs, and a baron ten marcs, and a knight, who has land, four marcs, and a knight, who has no land, two marcs. No foreigner shall turney there. Wherefore we command you, that on the day of the turnament you shall provide, at each place, two clerks, and [your] two knights, to receive the oaths from the earls and barons, for their satisfaction, concerning the aforesaid sums, &c.—“ Tho. Hearnii præfat. ad Gul. Neubrig. Hist. pag. xlix, l. It is also printed in Selden, de Duello. Richard encouraged these exercises to the highest degree, æmulous of the French, who were famous in this way. He was a Troubadour.

silkes, attended her highnes comming, from the midst of the pool, whear, upon a moveable island bright-blazing with torches, she flotig to land, met her majesty with a well-penned meter, and matter, after this sorte ; first of the aunciente of the castl ; who had been owners of the same e'en till this day, most allways in the hands of the earles of Leycester; how she had kept this lake syns King Arthur's dayes, and now understanding of her highnes hither coming, thought it both offis and duety ; to discover, in humble wise, her, and her estate, offring up the same, hir lake, and power thearin ; with promis of repair to the court. It pleased her highness to thank this lady, &c*."

Gascoyne†, in a little narrative called the "Pleasures of Kenelworth Castle," gives us

* Written by one Laneham, an attendant on the court.

† Works, London, 1576.

some of the above-mentioned metre, written by Ferrers, one of the contributors to the *Mirror of Magistrates*, of which these may serve as a specimen.

I am the lady of this pleasant lake,
 Who since the time of great King Arthur's reigne,
 That here with royall court aboade did make,
 Have led a lowring life in restless paine ;
 'Till now that this your third arrival here,
 Doth cause me come abroad, and boldly thus appeare.

For after him such stormes this castle shooke,
 By swarming Saxons first, who scourge this land,
 As forth of this my poole I neer durst looke, &c.

She is afterwards introduced complaining to the queen, that Sir Bruise had insulted her for doing an injury to Merlin, an incident related in *Morte Arthur*, and that he would have put her to death had not Neptune delivered her, by concealing her in that lake, from which confinement the queen is afterwards supposed to deliver her, &c.

Without expatiating upon the nature of such a royal entertainment as this, I shall observe from it, that as the "the Lady of the Lake" was a very popular character in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, so consequently the romance which supplied this fiction, was at the same time no less popular. We may add, that it is not improbable that Spenser might allude, in the above-cited verses, to some of the circumstances in this part of the queen's entertainment; for Queen Elizabeth, the Fayre Elisa, is the lady whom the "Ladies of the Lake" are represented as repairing to, in that eclogue*. Nor is it improbable that this lady was often exhibited upon other occasions; nor is it improper to remark in this place, that Ben. Johnson has introduced her, together with

* Spenser's pastorals were published about four years after this entertainment. Their first edition is dated 1579. It is a thin quarto, printed in the black letter, with the commentary of E. K. perhaps Edward King.

King Arthur and Merlin, in an entertainment before the court of James I. called, "Prince Henries Barriers."

The above ancient letter acquaints us, that the queen was entertained with a song from this romance, which is a corroborative proof of its popularity at that time.—"A minstrall came forth with a sollem song warranted for story out of King Arthur's acts, the first book, 24. whereof I gat a copy, and that is this.

"So it fell out on a Pentecost day

"When King Arthur, &c."

This is the song above hinted at, where mention is made of King Rience demanding the beard of King Arthur. In the same letter, a gentleman who shewed some particular feats of activity before the queen, is said to

be—"very cunning in fens, and hardy as Gawen." This Gawen was King Arthur's nephew, and his achievements are highly celebrated in *Morte Arthur*.

We find Spenser in another place alluding to the fable of the Lady of the Lake so much spoken of in this romance.

———A little while
 Before that Merlin dyde, he did intend
 A brasen wall in compas to compyle
 About Cairmardin, and did it commend
 Unto these sprights to bring to perfect end;
 During which time, the "Ladies of the Lake,"
 Whom long he lov'd, for him in haste did send,
 Who therefore forst his workmen to foresake,
 Them bound till his returne, their labour not to slake.

3. 3. 9:

In the mean time, thro' that false ladies traine
 He was surpris'd and buried under beare,
 Ne ever to his worke returned againe.

These verses are obscure, unless we consider the following relation in *Morte Arthur*.—"The 'Lady of the Lake' and Merlin departed;

and by the way as they went, Merlin shewed to her many wonders, and came into Cornwaile. And alwaies Merlin lay about the ladie for to have her favour; and she was ever passing wery of him, and faine would have been delivered of him; for she was afraid of him, because he was a divells son, and she could not put him away by no meanes. And so upon a time it hapned, that Merlin shewed to her in a roche [rock] whereas was a great wonder, and wrought by enchauntment, which went under a stone, so by her subtle craft and working she made Merlin to go under that stone, to let him wit of the marvailles there. But she wrought so there for him, that he came never out, for all the craft that he could doe*.”

Our author has taken notice of a superstitious tradition, which is related at large in this romance.

* B. i. c. 60.

——— Good Lucius
 That first received christianitie,
 The sacred pledge of Christs evangellie :
 Yet true it is, that long before that day
 Hither came Joseph of Arimathie*,
 Who brought with him the holy grayle, they say,
 And preacht the truth; but since it greatly did decay.
 2. 10. 53.

The holy Græle, that is, the real blood of our blessed Saviour. What Spenser here writes Grayle, is often written Sangreal, or St. Græle, in Morte Arthur, and it is there said to have been brought into England by Joseph of Arimathea. Many of King Arthur's knights are in the same book represented as adventuring in quest, or in search of the

* Concerning the preaching of Joseph of Arimathea there was an old song or legend.—“ The olde man had an harpe, and there he sung how Joseph of Arimathea came into this land.”—Morte Arthur B. iii. c. 5. See also c. 38.

Sangreal, or Sanguis Realis*. This expedition was one of the first subjects of the old romance.

This romance seems to have extended its reputation beyond the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Jonson, besides his allusion to it concerning the "Lady of the Lake" mentioned above, hints at it more than once :—

Had I compil'd from Amadis de Gaule,
Th' Esplandians, Arthurs, Palmerins, &c†.

And afterwards, in the same poem—

* Hence Grayle seems to be used for the Communion-service in this passage of Skelton—

The peacock so proud,
Because his voyce is loud ;
He shall synge the Grayle.

P. Sparrow, pag. 227. Ed. 1736.

See also Davies in Voce, and Lwhyd's Dict.

† An execration upon Vulcane, in the Underwood.

————The whole summe
 Of errant knighthood ; with the dames and dwarfes,
 The charmed boates, and the enchanted wharfes,
 The Tristram's, Lanc'lotts, &c.

And Camden * refers to this History of King Arthur, as to a book familiarly known to the readers of his age. Speaking of the name Tristram, he observes—" I know not whether the first of his name was christened by King Arthur's fabler."—Again of Launcelot he speaks—" Some think it to be no auncient name, but forged by the writer of King Arthur's history, for one of his douty knights."—And of Gawen—" A name devised by the author of King Arthur's table†."

* Remains, printed 1604. Artic. Names.

† Rabelais informs us, with the utmost gravity, that Launcelot's business is to roast horses in hell ; and that the knights of the round table are employed in ferrying souls over Styx ; for which they have a fillip on the nose, and a piece of mouldy bread.

Sect. ii. chapit. 30.

To this we may add, that Milton manifestly hints at it in the following lines,

———Damsels met in forrests wide
By knights of Logris, or of Lyones,
Lancelot, Pelleas, or Pellenore*.

These are Sir Lancelot (or Sir Meliot) of Logris; Sir Tristram of Lyones, and King Pellenore, who are often mentioned in *Morte Arthur*, and represented as meeting beautiful damsels in desolate forests: and probably he might have it in his eye when he wrote the following, as the round table is expressly hinted at—

*Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ
Magnanimos Heroas.*———†

To which we may subjoin—

* *Par. Reg. B. ii. v. 359.* † *Mansus.*

———What resounds
 In fable, or romance, of Uther's son,
 Begirt with British, and Armoric knights*.

Before I leave this romance, I must observe, that Ariosto has been indebted to it; I do not mean to the old translation, which Spenser made use of. He has drawn his enchanter Merlin from it, and in these verses refers to a particular story concerning him, quoted above. Bradamante is supposed to visit the tomb of Merlin.

Questa è l' antica, e memorabil grotta,
 Ch' edificò Merlino il savio mago;
 Che forse recordare odi talhotta,
 Dove inganollo la Donna del Lago.
 Il sepolcro è qui giu, dove corrotta
 Giace la carne sua ; dove egli vago
 Di soddisfare a lei, che gliel suase,
 Vivo corcossi, e morto ci rimase†.

Thus translated by Harrington—

* Parad. Lost, i. v. 579. † C. iii. 10.

Heere is the tombe that Merlin erst did make
 By force of secret skill, and hidden art,
 In which sometimes the Lady of the Lake
 (That with her beauty had bewicht her hart)
 Did force him enter fondly for her sake ;
 And he was by a woman over-reached
 That unto others prophesied and preached.

xii. 12.

His carkas dead within this stone is bound.

This description of Merlin's tomb, says Harrington, in a marginal note, is out of the " Book of King Richard."—Ariosto has transfered the tomb from Wales into France. He afterwards feigns, that the prophetical sculpture in Maligigi's cave was performed by Merlin's enchantment.

Merlino il savio incantator Britanno
 Fe far la fonte, al tempo del re Arturo,
 E di cose, ch' al mondo hanno a venire,
 La fe da buoni artefici scolpire*.

* C. 26. 39.

—These whose names appear
 In marble pure, did never live as yet,
 But long time hence, after six hundred yeare,
 To their great praise in princely throne shall sit;
 Merlin the English prophet plast them here,
 In Arthur's time.——

HARRINGTON.

He also mentions some of the names of the knights of our romance. When Renaldo arrives in Great Britain, the poet takes occasion to celebrate that island for its singular achievements in chivalry, and for having produced many magnanimous champions; these are—

——Tristano,
 Lancillotto, Galasso, Artu, e Galuano*.

Afterwards, in b. 32. Tristram makes a great figure.

From this romance is also borrowed Ariosto's tale † of the enchanted cup, which

* C. 4. S. 22.

† B. 2. c. 34.

in Caxton's old translation is as follows—
 “ By the way they met with a knight, that
 was sent from Morgan le Faye to King
 Arthur; and this knight had a faire horne all
 garnished with gold; and the horne had
 such a virtue, that there might no ladie or
 gentlewoman drink of that horne, but if shee
 were true to her husband; and if shee were
 false, shee should spill all the drinke; and
 shee were true unto her lord, she might
 drink peaceably, &c*.”—Afterwards many
 trials are made with this cup. Ariosto's
 copy begins with the following verses—

Ecco un Donzello, a chi l' ufficio tocca,
 Pon su la mensa un bel napo d' or fino.
 Di fuor di gemme, e dentro pien di vino.

At last a page came in with curtsie low,
 And beares a standing cup of gold most fine,
 Without of gemmes, and full within of wine.

HARRINGTON.

The inimitable Fontaine has now moulded this story from Ariosto, under the title of "La Coupe Enchantée."

As it is manifest, from a comparison of passages, that Ariosto was intimately conversant in this romance; so I think we may fairly suppose that he drew from it the idea of his Orlando running mad with jealousy. In *Morte Arthur*, Sir Lancelot, smitten with a jealous fit, is driven to madness, in which state he continues for the space of two years, performing a thousand ridiculous pranks, no less extravagant than those of Orlando; and, like him, at last he recovers his senses. A popular and ridiculous romance was a sufficient hint for what we think a fine effort of poetry.

I had forgot to remark before, that our author has borrowed the name of Materasta's castle from that of Lancelot in *Morte Arthur*.

———The goodly frame
And stately port of Castle Joycous.

3. 1, 31.

Lancelot's castle is styled, by Caxton,
Joyous gard, or castle*.

This romance, or at least the stories formed from it, sometimes furnished matter for theatrical exhibitions, as we learn from Shakespeare.—“*Shallow* .I remember at Mile-end Green, when I lay at Clement's-inn, I was Sir Dagonet in Arthur's Show †.”—Where Theobald remarks—“ The only intelligence I have gleaned of this worthy wight [Sir Dagonet] is from Beaumont and Fletcher, in their Knight of the Burning Pestle.”—Sir Dagonet is an important character in

* So Skelton, in the Crowne of Lawrell, p. 53, ed. ut supr.

Of the paiants [pageants] that were played in Joyous garde.

† II. P. Hen. IV. Act. 3, Sc. 4.

Morte Arthur. The magnificent Arthur bore a considerable part in the old pageants. Thus, relating the marriage of Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII. says Bacon—"In the devices and conceits of the triumphs of this marriage—you may be sure that King Arthur the Briton, &c. was not forgotten*." In our author's age, we find him introduced among the entertainments exhibited at the splendid reception of Lord Leicester.—"Over the entrance of the court-gate was placed aloft upon a scaffold, as it had been in a cloud of skie, Arthur of Britaine, whom they compared to the earl †."—Sydney, as appears from a curious conversation between B. Jonson and Drummond of Hawthornden, recorded by the latter, intended to turn all the stories of Arcadia into the admired legend of Arthur and his knights. In his Defence

* Life of Henry VII. fol. edit. 1730, vol. iii. p. 489.

† Holling. Hist. Engl. vol. iii. pag. 1426.

of Poesie he plainly hints at Caxton's romance.
 " I dare say, that Orlando Furioso, or honest
 King Arthur [his history] will never displease
 a soldier.*"

Caxton's recommendation of this book to
 the knights of England, conveys a curious
 picture of the times†.—" O ye knyghts of
 Englund! where is the custom and usage of
 noble chyvalry that was usid in those dayes?
 What do you now but go to the baynes,
 [baths], and playe at dyse? And some not
 well advised, use not honest and good rule,
 agayn all order of knighthood. Leve this,
 leve it: and rede the noble volumes of Saynt
 Greal, of Lancelot, of Galaad, or Tristram,

* Ad Calc. The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcada,,
 edit. 1638, pag. 558.

† From the boke of the Ordre of Chyvalry, or Knight-
 hood: translated out of Frenshe, and imprinted by
 William Caxton. Without date; perhaps 1484. 4to.

of Perseforest, of Percyval, of Gawayne, and many mo: There shall ye see manhode, curtoys, and gentlenes. And loke in latter dayes of the noble actes syth the conquest: as in King Richard's dayes, Cuer de Lion: Edward I. and III. and his noble sones: Syr Robert Knolles, &c. Rede Froissart. Also beholde that victorious and noble king, Harry the fifthe, &c."—Ascham however tells us—"I know when God's bible was banished the court, and Morte Arthur received into princes chamber*."

In the hall of the castle of Tamworth, in Warwickshire, there is an old rude painting on the wall of Sir Lancelot du Lake, and Sir Turquin, drawn in a gigantic size, and tilting

* Ascham's Scholemaster, &c. 4to. 1589, b. 1. pag. 25, vers. There is a manuscript poem by Lydgate, Of King Arthur and the Rounde Table, which, I think, was never printed. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. D. 31, f. 64.

together. On Arthur's round table, as it is called, in the castle of Winchester, said to be founded by Arthur, are inscribed in ancient characters, the names of twenty-four of his knights, just as we find them in *Morte Arthur*. This table was hanging there in the year 1484, and was even then very old, being at that time, by tradition, called "Arthur's round table*." I presume, that in commemoration of Arthur's institution, and in direct imitation of his practice in later ages, a round table, inscribed with his knights, was usually fixed in some public place, wherever any magnificent turney was held, on which probably the combatants were afterwards feasted. It is well known that tournaments were frequently celebrated in high splendor at Winchester, and this is perhaps one of those very tables. It was partly on account of a round

* Caxton's Preface to *Morte Arthur*.

table being thus actually exhibited, that these exercises were familiarly called by the historians of the middle age, *Tabula* or *Mensa Rotunda*. Thus Walter Hemingford, to mention no more instances.—“*Eodem anno [1280] Tabula rotunda tenebatur sumptuose apud Warewyk*.*”

* *Vit. Edv. I.* edit. Hearne, vol. i, pag. 7. See Note, *supr.* p. 28. It was often a general name for a tournament; however, every common tournament was not always strictly called so.—*Non ut in hastiludio illo quod communiter et vulgariter Torneamentum dicitur, sed potius in illo ludo militari qui mensa rotunda dicitur, vires suas attemperarent.*”—*Matt. Paris*, p. 1147. It was perhaps a peculiar species of turney, such as was revived at Kenelworth-castle, by Earl Mortimer. At such a tournament as this, Chaucer's knight had often been the leading or principal champion:—

At Allessandre he was when it was won,
Full oft timis he had the borde begon,
In Pruce.————— Prol. 51.

But Speght [*Gloss. Ch.*] says, “that being often among the knights of the Tutonic Order in Prussia, he was, for his worthiness, placed at the upper end of the table, before any of what nation soever.”

Some writers say, that King Arthur first instituted the round table at Cairleon, in Monmouthshire, others at Camelot, in Somersetshire. Both these are mentioned in *Morte Arthur* as places where Arthur kept his court with his knights. In the parish of Lansannan, in Denbighshire, on the side of a stony rock, is a circular area, cut out of the rock, having twenty-four seats, which they call Arthur's round table. However, it's first and original establishment is generally supposed to have been at Winchester*. Harding, in his *Chronicle of English Kings*, from Brutus to Edward IV. in whose reign he wrote, tell us, that Uther Pendragon, Arthur's father, founded the round table at Winchester, chiefly for the recovery of Sangreal, but in commemoration of his marriage with Igerne. Joseph of Arimathea is likewise introduced on this occasion.

* Called Camelot in *Morte Arthur*, 3, 114.

And at the day he weddid her and croud,
 And she far forth with child was then begonne,
 To comfort her he set the round table
 At Winchester, of worthiest knights alone,
 Approved best in knighthood of their fone,
 Which table round, Joseph of Arimathie,
 For brother made of the Saint Gral only.

In which he made the sige perilous,
 Where none should sit, without grete mischief,
 But one that should be most religious
 Of knights all, and of the round table chief,
 The Saint Gral that should recover and achieve*.

The one most religious, who alone was
 qualified to sit in the sige perilous, and who
 achieved and won the sangreal, is Sir Galahad,
 Sir Lancelot's son†.

In Caxton's romance, King Arthur's dowry
 with Queen Guenever, is said to be the round
 table, made by her father Uther. Her father,

* Lond. 1543. edit. Grafton. fol. 61.

† Ibid. 3, 32.

King Leodegrance, says—"I shall send him a gift that shall please him more, [than lands] for I shall give him the table round, the which Uther Pendragon gave me*."

There is another ancient romance, for so it may be called, though written in verse, which Spenser apparently copies, in Prince Arthur's combat with the dragon: it will be necessary to transcribe the whole passage, which, I believe, will not be thought too long.

It fortun'd (as faire it then befell)

Behind his back, vnweeting, where he stood,
Of auncient time there was a springing well,
From which fast trickled forth a siluer flood,
Full of great vertues, and for med'cine good.
Whylome, before that cursed dragon got
That happy land, and all with innocent blood
Defil'd those sacred waves, it rightly hot
The well of life: ne yet his vertues had forgot.

1. 11. 29.

* Morte Arthur, i. 45.

XXX.

For, unto life the dead it could restore,
 And guilt of sinful crimes cleane wash away ;
 Those that with sicknesse were infected sore,
 It could recure, and ages long decay
 Renew, as it were borne that very day.
 Both Silo this, and Iordan did excell,
 And th' English Bath, and eke the German Spau,
 Ne can Cephise, nor Hebrus match this well :
 Into the same, the knight (backe overthrowen) fell.

XXXI.

Now gan the golden Phæbus for to steepe
 His fierie face in billowes of the west,
 And his faint steeds watred in Ocean deep,
 Whiles from their iournall labours they did rest ;
 When that infernall monster having kest
 His weary foe into that living well,
 Gan high advaunce his broad discoloured breast
 Aboue his wonted pitch, with countenance fell,
 And clapt his iron wings as victor he did dwell.

XXXII.

Which when his pensieve lady saw from farre,
 Great woe and sorrow did her soule essay ;
 As weening that, the sad end of the warre,
 And gan to highest God entirely pray,

That feared chance from her to turne away ;
 With folded hands and knees full lowly bent
 All night she watcht, ne once adowne would lay
 Her dainty limbs in her sad dreriment,
 But praying still did wake, and waking did lament.

XXXIII.

The morrow next gan early to appeare,
 That Titan rose to run his daily race ;
 But early ere the morrow next gan reare
 Out of the sea faire Titans deawy face,
 Vp rose the gentle virgin from her place,
 And looked all about, if she might spy
 Her loued knight to moue his manly pase :
 For, she had great doubt of his safety,
 Since late she saw him fall before his enemy.

XXXIV.

At last she saw, where he vpstarted braue,
 Out of the well, wherein he drenched lay,
 As Eagle fresh out of the Ocean waue,
 Where he hath left his plumes all hoary gray.
 And deckt himself with feathers youthly gay,
 Like eyas hauke vp mounts vnto theskies,
 His newly-budded pineons to assay,
 And marvailes at himself, still as he flies :
 So new, this new-borne knight to battell new did rise.

XXXV.

Whom, when the damed fiend so fresh did spy,
 No wonder if he wondered at the sight,
 And doubted, whether his late enemy
 It were, or other fresh supplied knight.
 He, now to prove his late renewed might,
 High brandishing his bright deaw-burning blade,
 Vpon his crested scalpe so sore did smite,
 That to the skull a yawning wound it made :
 The deadly dint his dulled senses all dismaid.

XXXVI.

I wote not, whether the reuenging steele
 Were hardened with that holy water dew
 Wherein he fell, or sharper edge did feele,
 Or his baptized hands now greater grew ;
 Or other secret vertue did ensew ;
 Else, never could the force of fleshly arme,
 Ne molten metall in his bloud embrew :
 For, till that stound could never wight him arme,
 By subtiltie, nor sleight, nor might, nor mighty charme.

This miraculous manner of healing, our
 author drew from an old poem, entitled, Sir
 Bevis of Southampton.

" What for weary, and what for faint,
 Sir Bevis was neer attaint :
 The dragon followed on Bevis so hard,
 That as he would have fled backward,
 There was a well as I weene,
 And he stumbled right therein.
 Then was Sir Bevis afraid and woe,
 Lest the dragon should him sloe :
 Or that he might away passe,
 When that he in the well was.
 Then was the well of such vertu
 Through the might of Christ Jesu,
 For sometime dwelled in that land
 A virgin full of Christes sand,
 That had been bathed in that well,
 That ever after, as men can tell,
 Might no venemous worme come therein,
 By the virtue of that virgin,
 Nor nigh it seven foot and more :
 Then Bevis was glad therefore,
 When he saw the Dragon fell
 Had no power to come to the well,
 Then was he glad without faile,
 And rested awile for his availe,
 And drank of the water of his fill,
 And then he lept out of the well,
 And with Morglay, his brand
 Assailed the Dragon, I understand :
 On the dragon he strucke so fast, &c *."

* We have much the same miracle in the Seven
 Champions. 1. 2.

After which the dragon strikes the knight
with such violence, that he falls into a
swoon, and tumbles as it were lifeless into
the well, by whose sovereign virtue he is
revived.

“ When Bevis was at the ground
The water made him whole and sound,
And quenched all the venom away,
This well saved Bevis that day.”

And afterwards,

“ But ever when Bevis was hurt sore,
He went to the well and washed him thore ;
He was as whole as any man,
And ever as fresh as when he began.”

It may be observed, that this poem of Sir
Bevis is in that short measure, which was
frequently sung to the harp even in Queen
Elizabeth's time : a custom which probably
descended from the ancient bards. The
author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, printed

1589, thus speaks of it—"Soon the other side doth the overbusie and too speedy returne of one manner of tune, too much annoy, and, as it were, glut the eare, unless it be in small and popular musickes song by these cantabanqui upon benches and barrels heads, where they have none other audience than boyes, or country fellowes, that passe by them in the streete ; or else by blind harpers or such like taverne-minstrels, that give a fit of mirth for a groat ; and their matters being, for the most part stories of old time ; as the Tale of Sir Topas, the Reportes of Bevis of Southampton, Guy of Warwicke, Adam Bell, and Clymme of the Clough, and such other old romances or historical rhymes, made purposely for recreation of the common people at Christmasse dinners and brideales ; and in tavernes, and alehouses, and such places of base resort ; also they be used in carols and rounds, and such light or lascivious poemnes, which are commonly more

commodiously uttered by these buffoons and vices in plays, than by any other person : such were the rimes of Skelton (usurping the name of a poet laureate) being in deede but a rude rayling rimer, and all his doings ridiculous ; he used both short distances and short measures, pleasing only the popular eare ; in our courtly maker we banish them utterly*.”—Hence it appears that Chaucer’s pieces, or at least legends drawn from him, were at that time sung to the harp ; for the tale, or rime, of Sir Topas is a poem of Chaucer now extant : so the Italians at present sing Tasso and Ariosto. Adam Bell and Clym of the Clough were two famous archers : the former of which is on that account alluded to by Shakspeare.

The same author in another place speaks of this kind of entertainment, by which we

* B. ii. c. 9.

may conjecture that it was not always confined to so vulgar an audience.—“ We ourselves who compiled this treatise have written for pleasure, a little brief romance, or historical ditty, in the English tong, of the isle of Great-Britain, in short and long meeters ; and by breaches or divisions to be more commodiously sung to the harpe in places of assembly, where the company shall be desirous to hear of old adventures, and valiaunces of noble knights in times past ; as are those of King Arthur, and his knights of the round table : Sir Bevys of Southampton, Guy of Warwicke, and such other like*.”

But to return:—The circumstance of the dragon not being able to approach within seven feet of this well, is imitated by our author st. 49. below, where another water is mentioned, which in like manner preserves the knight.

* B. i. c. 19.

But nigh thereto the ever-damned beast
 Durst not approache, for he was mortal made,
 And all that life preserved did detest,
 Yet he it oft adventur'd to invade.

We feel a sort of malicious triumph in detecting the latent and obscure source, from whence an original author has drawn some celebrated description: yet this, it must be granted, soon gives way to the rapture that naturally results from contemplating the chymical energy of true genius, which can produce so noble a transmutation, and whose virtues are not less efficacious and vivifying in their nature, than those of the miraculous water here displayed by Spenser.

I take this opportunity of mentioning by the way, that our author, in his dragon-encounters, circumstantially adopts all the incidents which occur on this article in romances.

An ingenious correspondent has commu-

nicated to me an old ballad, or metrical romance, called the Boy and the Mantle, on which Spenser's conceit of Florimel's Girdle is evidently founded. A boy brings into King Arthur's hall, at Cairleoln, a magical mantle, by which trial is made of the fidelity of each of the ladies of the several knights*. But this fiction is as manifestly taken from an old French piece, entitled, *Le Court Mantel*; part of which is quoted by M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye†, in his learned and ancient chivalry, and who informs us, that it is formed on the tale of the Enchanted Cup. Most of these old romantic stories in English, I presume, first existed in French or Italian.

Several other incidental imitations of romance will be pointed out occasionally. As to Spenser's original and genealogy of the

* Manuscript Collection of old Ballads, No. 89.

† A Paris, 1760, 12mo, tom. prem. pag. 119.

fairy nation, I am inclined to conjecture, that part of it was supplied by his own inexhaustible imagination, and part from some fabulous history.

He tells us, (b. 2. 10. 70.) that man, as first made by Prometheus, was called Elfe, who wandering over the world, at length arrived at the gardens of Adonis, where he found a female whom he called Fay. Elfe, according to Junius, is derived from the runic Alfur, who likewise endeavours to prove, that the Saxons called the Elfes, or spirits of the downs, Dunelfen; of the fields, Feldelfen; of the hills, Muntelfen; of the woods, Wudelfen, &c*. Elfe signifies quick. Fay, or Fairy, I shall explain hereafter:

The issue of Elfe and Fay were called Fairies, who soon grew to be a mighty

* See Junius, Etymolog. in Elfe. Etymologists greatly differ about the word.

people, and conquered all nations. Their eldest son Elfin governed America, and the next to him, named Elfinan, founded the city of Cleopolis, which was enclosed with a golden wall by Elfiline. His son Elfine overcame the Gobbelines; but of all Fairies Elfant was most renowned, who built Panthea of crystal. To these succeeded Elfar, who slew two brethren-giants; and to him Elfinor, who built a bridge of glass over the sea, the sound of which was like thunder. At length Elficleos ruled the Fairy Land with much wisdom, and highly advanced its power and honour. He left two sons, the eldest of which, fair Elferon, died a premature death, his place being supplied by the mighty Oberon, a prince whose "wide memorial" still remains; and who dying, left Tanaquil to succeed him by will, she being also called Glorian, or Gloriana.

In the story of Enfinel, who overcame the

Gobbelines, he either alludes to the fiction of the Guelfes and Gibbelines in Italy ; or to another race of fairies, called Goblins, and commonly joined with Elfes. His friend and commentator, E. K. remarks*, that our Elfes and Goblins were derived from the two parties, Guelfes and Gibbelines. This etymology I by no means approve. The mention of it however may serve to illustrate Spenser's meaning in this passage. Elfinan perhaps is King Lud, who founded London, or Cleopolis.

In which the fairest Fairy Queen doth dwell.

1. 10. 58.

Elfant built her palace Panthea, probably Windsor-castle. The bridge of glass may mean London-bridge. But these images of the golden wall, the crystal tower, &c. seem to be all adopted from romance. At least

* Eclogue June.

they all flow from a mind strongly tintured with romantic ideas. In the latter part of this genealogy, he has manifestly adumbrated some of our English princes. Elficleos is King Henry VII. whose eldest son, Prince Arthur, died at sixteen years of age, in Ludlow-castle, and whose youngest son Oberon, that is Henry VIII. succeeded to the crown, marrying his brother Arthur's widow, the Princess Katharine. This Spenser particularly specifies in these verses :—

Whose emptie place, the mightie Oberon
Doubly supplide, in spousal and dominion.

2. 10. 75.

And that the fame of this king was very recent in our author's age is obvious.

It is remarkable that Spenser says nothing of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, who reigned between Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth;

but that he passes immediately from Oberon to Tanaquil, or Gloriana, i. e. Elizabeth, who was excluded from her succession by those two intermediate reigns. There is much address and art in the poet's manner of making this omission.

He dying left the fairest Tanaquill,
Him to succeed therein by his last will ;
Fairer and nobler liveth none this howre,
Ne like in grace, ne like in learned skill.

Ibid.

As to the Fairy Queen, considered apart from the race of faries, the notion of such an imaginary personage was very common. Chaucer, in his Rime of Sir Thopas, mentions her, together with a fairy land : and Shakespeare, the poet of popular superstition, has introduced her in the Midsummer-night's Dream. She was supposed to have held her court in the highest magnificence, in the

reign of King Arthur, a circumstance by which the transcendant happiness of that golden age was originally represented in its legendary chronicles. Thus Chaucer—

In the old dayis of the King Arthure,
Of which the Britons speken great honour ;
All was this lond fulfillid of fayry :
The Elf-quene, with her jolly company,
Daunsid full oft in many a grene mede :
This was the old opinion, as I rede*.

Hence too we find, that Spenser followed the established tradition, in supposing his Fairy Queen † to exist in the age of Arthur.

* Wife of Bath's Tale, ver. 857. Urry's edit. fol.

† It appears from John Marston's satires, entitled the Scourge of Villainie, three book of satyres, and printed in the year 1598, that our author's Faerie Queene occasioned many publications in which fairies were the principal actors, viz.

Go buy some ballad of the Faery King.

In Lectores.

And in another place,

In Chaucer's Rime of Sir Thopas, mentioned above, the knight, like Spenser's Arthur, goes in search of a Fairy Queen.

---- At length some wonted sleepe doth crowne
His new-falne lids ; dreames, straight tenne pound to one
Out-steps some Faery with quick motion,
And tells him wonders of some flowrie vale ----
Awakes, straite rubs his eyes, and prints his tale.

B. 3. sat. 6.

And I have seen a romance, which seems to have been written soon after Spenser's poem, entitled, *The Red-Rose Knight*, where the knight, after the example of Prince Arthur, goes in search of the Fairy Queen.

The satires above-mentioned contained many well-drawn characters, and several good strokes of satirical genius, but are not upon the whole so finished and classical as Bishop Hall's, the first part of which were published about a year before these. Among other passages the following struck me, as being a good deal in the strain of the beginning of Milton's *L' Allegro*—

Sleepe, grim reproof ; my jocund muse doth sing
In other keys to nimble fingering ;
Dull sprighted melancholy leave my braine,
To hell, Cimmerian knight ! in lively vaine
I strive to paint ; then hence all darke intent,

An Elf-Quene well I love, I wis,
 For in this world no woman is,
 Worthy to be my make ;
 All othir womin I forsake ;
 And to an Elf-Quene I may take
 By dale and eke by doune.

And sullen frowns ; come sporting merriment,
 Cheeke-dimpling laughter, &c.

B. 3. sat. 10.

From these satires we may learn also how popular a play *Romeo and Juliet* was in those days. He is speaking to a wit of the town.

Luscus, what's playd to day ? - - - faith now I know
 I sett thy lips abroach, from whence doth flow
 Nought but pure *Juliet and Romeo*.

Ibid.

Langbaine (*Dram. Poets*, pag. 351.) informs us, that these satires, now forgotten, rendered Marston more eminent than his dramatic poetry. Two years after these, viz. 1600, another collection of Satires appeared, written by W. Rowlands, which are by no means contemptible. These are entitled, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vaine*. So that Bishop Hall was not without some followers in this species of poetry which he had newly revived.

Into his saddle he clombe arone,
 And pricked over style and stone
 An Elf-Quene to espie,
 Till he so long had ridden and gone,
 That he fonde in a privie wone,
 The countre of Fairie.

He then meets a terrible giant, who threatens him with destruction for entering that country, and tells him—

Here wonnith the Quene of Fairie,
 With harpe, and pipe, and simphonie,
 Within this place and boure ;
 The Child said, also mote I the
 To morrow woll I metin The
 Wan I have mine armoure*.

In Chaucer it appears that Fairy-land, and Fairies, were sometimes used for hell, and its ideal inhabitants. Thus in the Marchant's Tale.

Pluto that is king of Fayrie.

* V. 3299, et seq. Urry's edit. ut supr.

Again,

Proserpine and all her Fayrie.

In the same,

And I, quoth the Quene, [Proserpine] am of Fayrie.

In the Knight's Tale, when the brazen horse
was brought into Cambuscan's hall,

It was of Fayrie, as the people deem'd*.

That is, "the people thought this wonderful horse was the work of the devil, and made in hell. And in the romance of the Seven Champions, Proserpine is called the Fairy Queen, and said—"To sit crowned amongst her Fayries †." In Harsenet's Declaration ‡, Mercury is called "Prince of the Fairies."

* V. 221.

† Part. 1. ch. xvi.

‡ Of Popish Imposture, &c. 1602. pag. 57. ch. xii.

This fiction of the Fairies, is supposed to have been brought, with other fantastic extravagancies of the like nature from the eastern nations, while the European Christians were engaged in the Holy War; those expeditions being the first subjects of the elder romance. These are the words of one who has shewn his masterly skill and penetration in every part of literature.—“Nor were the monstrous embellishments of enchantments, &c. the invention of the romancers; but formed upon eastern tales, brought thence by travellers from their crusades and pilgrimages, which indeed have a cast peculiar to the wild imagination of the eastern people*.” That the fairies in particular came from the east, the testimony of M. Herbelot will more fully confirm, who tells us, that the Persians call the fairies Peri,

* Supplement to the Transl. Pref. ad Jarvis's *Don Quixotte*.

and the Arabs Ginn; that they feign there is a certain country inhabited by them, called Ginnistian, which answers to our Fairy-land; and that the ancient romances of Persia are full of Peri or fairies*. See also Ginn, or Gian, in Heberlot, under the latter of which that learned orientalist further informs us, that there is an Arabian book entitled, "Pieces de corail amassées sur ce qui regarde le Ginnes, ou Genies."

The notions, however, so essential to books of chivalry, of giants, necromancers,

* Littleness is not always implied in Fairy. Thus we have Morgan le Fay, Morgan the Fairy, one of the queens in Morte Arthur, an Elfin Lady. She is called Morgan la Fee in the French romance, "*La Table Ronde, autrement dit Launcelot du Lake*," in two folio volumes: the first of which was printed at Rouen, 1428, by John le Bourgeois. The second at Paris in the same year, by John de Pre. They are said [fol. ult. vol. ii.] to be extracted from many true histories, by Gaultier de Map. There is a French romance of the atchievement of the Sangraal, by Robert de Borron.

enchancements, &c. were perhaps established, although not universally, in Europe before the time of the crusades. All the Sagas, or ancient islandic histories, are full of them. The fairies in particular held a very important rank in the old Celtic Mythology*. The northern nations call them Duergar, or Dwarfs. Thus the sword Tírfing, in the Scaldic dialogue between Hervor and Angantyr, is called Duerga Smidi, the work of the Dwarfs†. This strengthens the hypothesis of the northern part of Europe, particularly Scandinavia, being peopled by colonies from the east, under the command of their general, or god, Odin. It is well known how strongly the superstitious belief of spirits, or invisible agents, assigned to

* See *Hervarer Saga* of Olaus Verelius, fol. pag. 44, 45. And *Hickes's Thesaur.* tom. ii. pag. 311, et seq. [per H. Wanley.] See also what is said above, concerning Elfe.

† *Hickes's Thesaur.* vol. i. pag. 193. cap. 23.

different parts of nature, prevails even in Scotland at this day.

Our old romantic history supposes, that Arthur still reigns in Fairy-land, from which he will one day return to Britain, and re-established the round table in its original splendour.

He is a king ycrownid in Fairie,
With scepter, and sword : and with his regally
Shall resort as lord and sovereigne
Out of Fairie, and reigne in Britaine ;
And repair again the old round table.
By prophecy Merlin set the date*.

The same tradition is mentioned by Cervantes in Don Quixote†.

Many other examples might be alleged, from which it would be more abundantly

* Lydgate, Fall of Princes. b. 8. ch. xxv.

† Part 1. ch. v.

manifested, that our author's imagination was entirely possessed with that species of reading, which was the fashion and the delight of his age. The lovers of Spenser, I hope, will not think I have been too tedious in a disquisition, which has contributed not only to illustrate many particular passages in their favourite poet, but to display the general cast and colour of his poem. Some there are who will censure what I have collected on this subject, as both trifling and uninteresting; but such readers can have no taste for Spenser.

SECT. III.

*Of Spenser's Use and Abuse of Ancient History
and Mythology.*

AS Spenser sought to produce surprise by extravagant incidents and fantastic descriptions, great part of classical history and mythology afforded ample materials for such a design, and properly coincided with the general aim of his romantic plan. He has accordingly adopted some of their most extraordinary fictions, in many of which he has departed from the received tradition, as his purpose and subject occasionally required or permitted. But with regard to our author's misrepresentation of ancient fable, it may be justly urged, that from those arguments which are produced against his fidelity, new proofs arise in favour of his fancy. Spenser's native force of invention

would not suffer him to pursue the letter of prescribed fiction, with scrupulous observation and servile regularity. In many particulars he varies from antiquity, only to substitute new beauties, and from a slight mention of one or two leading circumstances in ancient fable, takes an opportunity to display some new fiction of his own coinage. He sometimes, in the fervour of composition, misrepresents these matters through haste and inattention. His allusions to ancient history are likewise very frequent, which he has not scrupled to violate, with equal freedom, and for the same reasons.

B. i. c. i. s. xxxvii.

A bold bad man, that dar'd to call by name
Great Gorgon. — — —

Dr. Jortin * has multiplied instances by

* See Remarks on Spenser's Poems.

which it appears, that the ancients were superstitiously fearful of uttering the name of Gorgon or Dæmogorgon. I shall add, that they were no less afraid of calling the Furies by their names.

Electra, in Euripides, says of the Furies, that tormented her brother—

— — ONOMAZEIN γὰρ αἰδῆμαι θεῶν
Εὐμενίδας, αἱ τὸνδ' ἐξαμιλλῶνται φωῶ*.

— Vereor enim nominare
Deas Eumenidas, quæ eum certatim perterrent.

And in another scene, Orestes says—

Ἐδοξ' εἶδεν τρεῖς νυκτὶ προσφereis κορας.

Visus sum mihi videre tres puellas nocti similes.

Whom Menelaus answers—

Οἶδ' ἄς ἐλεξας, ΟΝΟΜΑΣΑΙ δ' οὐ βελομαι†.

* Orestes, v. 37.

† Ibid. 490.

Novi quas dixisti; nominare autem nolo.

Below, we have the same superstition concerning Hecate—

And threatned unto him the dreaded name
Of Hecate. — — —

st. 3.

But it would perhaps be difficult to produce any ancient evidence, either that Hecate's name was feared in general, or that Morpheus particularly, was afraid of uttering or hearing it. Our author, with great force of fancy, feigns such another circumstance as this concerning Merlin.

The fiends do quake, when any him to them does name.

3. 3. 11.

Though perhaps this is not more expressive of Merlin's diabolical power, than what some of the runic historians mention of a

Swedish enchanter, viz. That he could blunt the edge of the weapons of his enemies only by looking at them, and that he could make hell a light place.

B. i. c. iv. s. xxx.

He is describing Envy.

— — — Still did chaw,
Between his cankred teeth a venomous toad,
That all the poison ran about his jaw.

Ovid feigns * that Envy was found eating the flesh of vipers, a fiction not much unlike Spenser's picture. But our author has heightened this circumstance to a most disgusting decree ; for he adds, that the poison ran about his jaw. This is perhaps one of the most loathsome images which Spenser has given us ; though he paints very strongly, l. 1. 20.

* Met. ii. v. 76.

—— She spewd out of her filthy maw,
 A flood of poison horrible and black ;
 Full of great lumps of flesh and gobbets raw,
 Which stunk so vilely, that it forc'd him slack
 His grasping hold. —— ——

As also in the discovery of Duessa, 1. 8. 47.
 48. He is likewise very indelicate, where
 he speaks of Serena's wounds.

For now her wounds corruption 'gan to breed.

And to forbear disagreeable citations, see
 7. 7. 31. and 7. 7. 40. The truth is, the
 strength of our author's imagination could
 not be suppressed on any subject; and, in
 some measure, it is owing to the fulness of
 his stanza, and the reiteration of his rhymes,
 that he describes these offensive objects so
 minutely.

But to return to his Envy. This personage
 is again introduced, 5. 12. 29. chewing a

snake, of which a most beautiful use is made,
st. 39.

Then from her mouth the gobbet she does take,
The which whyleare she was so greedily
Devouring ; even that half-knawen snake,
And at him throws it most despitefully :
The cursed serpent, though she hungrily
Earst chawd thereon, yet was not all so dead,
But that some life remained secretly,
And as he past before withouten dread,
Bit him behind, that long the mark was to be read.

It may be objected, that Spenser drew the
thought of Envy throwing her Snake at
Arthegall, from Alecto's attack upon Amata.

*Huic Dea cæruleis unum de crinibus anguem
Conjicit, inque sinus præcordia ad intima condit*.*

But Spenser's application of this thought
is surely a stronger effort of invention than
the thought itself. The rancour, both of

* *Æn.* vii. v. 346.

Envy and of her Snake, could not have been expressed by more significant strokes. Although the snake was her constant food, yet she was tempted to part with her only sustenance, while she could render it an instrument of injuring another; and although the snake, by being thus constantly fed upon, was nearly dead, "some life," as he finely says, "remaining secretly," yet its natural malignity enabled it to bite with violence.

B. i. c. v. s. xxxix.

—— His rash sire began to rend
His haire, and hastie tongue that did offend.

Theseus did not rend his tongue on this occasion. Dr. Jortin is willing to excuse our author for this mistake, by supposing an elleipsis, viz.—"He began to rend his hair, and [to blame or curse] his tongue." Spenser is indeed full of elleipses, yet he has

■ 2

seldom been guilty of one so hard as this. I should therefore think, that this passage ought not to be referred to our author's ellepses, but to that fault which he so often commits, the misrepresentation of ancient story. Besides, the words "that did offend," joined with "hastie tongue," seem to be given by the poet as an express reason why he rent it.

B. i. c. vi. s. xiv.

Sylvanus is here introduced—

—— — His weak steps governing,
And aged limbes on cypresse stadle stout.

I do not remember that Sylvanus is any where described as infirm with old age. Neither would the young cypress tree which he carried in his hand, a sapling, or small plant torn up by the root, have served for this use. Virgil addresses him—

— *Teneram ab radice ferens, Sylvane, cupressum**.

B. i. c. vii. s. xvii.

— — — The renowned snake
Which great Alcides in Stremona slew,
Long-fostered in the filth of Lerna lake.

Hercules slew the hydra in the lake of Lerna, between the Mycenæ and Argos. Stremona is no where to be found, which he probably put for Strymon, a river of Macedonia, in the confines of Thrace. But to read Strymon here, would no more agree with the history than the metre.

B. ii. c. iv. s. xli.

— — Sonne of Erebus and Night.

Spenser is just to mythology in representing Erebus and Night as married. In another place this address is made to Night.

— — Black Erebus thy husband is.

S. 4. 55.

* Georg. i. v. 20.

In these lines of Milton—

Hence loathed Melancholy,
Of Cerberus and blackest Midnight born,

Mr. Upton substitutes Erebus instead of Cerberus. The alteration is ingenious, and to his defence of it he might have added, that Milton, in more than one of his juvenile poems, has given us the true genealogy.

Nox senis amplexus Erebi taciturna petivit*.

Again.

Non est, ut arbitraris elusus miser,
Mors atra Noctis filia,
Erebove patre creta†.

And in his prolusions—"Cæterum nec desunt qui Æthera et Diem itidem Erebo .

* In Quintum Novemb. † In Obitum Præsul. Eliens.

Noctem peperisse tradunt*.” But after all, without insisting on the material circumstance of two editions of this poem being printed in the life-time, and under the inspection of Milton, in both of which Cerberus is found, I am inclined to think that he certainly wrote Cerberus. Full of the idea of the loathsomeness of Melancholy, he seems to have chosen two the most detestable parents for so foul a demon, that his imagination could suggest. And it is to be further observed, that he does not say “Midnight” simply, but “blackest” midnight, an epithet by which he feelingly signifies his abhorrence of the offspring of this infernal pair, and the propriety and consistency of her being leagued with the monster Cerberus.

But to return to Spenser.—He is also exact

* An Nox utrum Dies, &c. Birch’s Edit. vol. ii. pag 585.

in his mythology concerning Night, in the following verses.

O thou most antient grandmother of old,
More old than Jove, whom thou at first didst breed.
1. 5. 22.

Thus Orpheus, in his Hymn to Night.

ΝΥΚΤΑ θεων γενετειραν αεισομαι, ηδε κ' ανδων,
ΝΥΞ γενεσις παντων. — — —

Noctem deorum genetricem cantabo atque hominum,
Nox genetrix omnium. — — —

He afterwards says of her—

Which wast begott in Dæmogorgon's hall.

That is, in Chaos, who is the parent of Night,
according to Hesiod.

Εκ ΧΑΕΟΣ δ' ΕΡΕΒΟΣΤΕ μελαιναίε Νυξ εγενοντο*.

A Chao autem Erebus atraque Nox gignebantur.

* Theog. 123,

Spenser makes Night the mother of Falsehood, according to Hesiod.

—— ——— Though I the mother be
Of Falsehood. —— ———

s. 27. inf.

Νυξ ὄλον μελα την δ' ΑΠΙΑΤΗΝ ΤΕΝΕ*.

Nox perniciosa post illam Fraudem peperit.

Spenser gives Night a chariot and horses, for which he has the authority of many ancient poets. Without citing the particular passages, which are frequent and obvious, I shall take occasion to remark, that what Spenser says of the horses of Night, in all probability, tempted Milton's fancy to go further, and to give them names.

Thus Spenser,

And cole-black steeds yborne of hellish broode.
That on their rustie bits did champ as they were wood.

l. 5. 20.

* Theog. 224.

And afterwards,

Her twyfold teme, of which two black as pitch,
And two were brown, yet each to each unlitch.

1. 5. 28.

Milton's lines are these,

Nox senis amplexus Erebi taciturna reliquit,
Præcipitesque impellit Equos, stimulante flagello :
Captum oculis Typhlonta, Melanchætæmque ferocem,
Atque Acherontæo prognatam patre Siopem
Torpida, et hirsutis horrentem Phrica capillis*.

It is at the same time not less probable, that in describing these, he thought of the horses of the Sun, which are named in Ovid; as are the horses of Pluto in Claudian†. Milton, in the same poem, had an eye to another passage in Spenser, who having described the personages that sate by the highway leading to hell, adds this fine image.

* In Quint. Novemb. v. 151. † Rapt. Proserp. 1. 285.

And over them sad Horror with grim hewe,
Did alwaies sore, beating his iron wings.

2. 7. 2.

Milton, after mentioning some of the same allegorical beings, adds—

— *Exanguisque locum circumvolat Horror**.

Among these beings Milton's decription of Phonos, or Murder, whom he couples with Prodotes, or Treason, is remarkably beautiful.

*Ipsi etiam pavidī latitant penetralibus antri
Et Phonos et Prodotes ; nulloque sequente per antrum,
Antrum horrent, scopulosum, attum feralibus umbris,
Diffugiunt fontes, et retro lumina vertunt.*

But I think it is equalled by Fletcher's figure of Phonos, in his forgotten poem, called the Purple Island.

* *Rapt. Proserp.* v. 148.

Last of this route the savage Ponos went,
 Whom his dire mother nurst with human blood ;
 And when more age and strength more fierceness lent,
 She taught him in a darkc and desart wood,
 With force and guile poore passengers to slay,
 And on their flesh his barking stomach stay,
 And with their wretched blood his fiery thirst allay.

Ten thousand Furies on his steps awaited,
 Some scar'd his harden'd soul with Stygian brand,
 Some with black terrors his faint conscience baited,
 That wide he star'd, and starched hair did stand ;
 The first-borne man still in his mind he bore,
 Fouly array'd in guiltlesse brother's gore,
 Which for revenge to heaven from earth did loudly roar*.

It is observable, that this little poem of
 Milton, as containing a council, conspiracy,
 and expedition, of Satan, may be looked upon
 as an early prelusion of his genius, to the
 subject of the Paradise Lost.

B. ii. c. vii. s. liii.

The garden of Proserpina this hight,
 And in the midst thereof a silver seat,
 With a thick arbor goodly overdight,
 In which she often us'd from open heat
 Herselfe to shroud, and pleasures to entreat.

* Cant. 7. st. 69. 71.

Next thereunto did growe a goodly tree,
 With branches broad disspred and body great,
 Cloathed with leaves that none the wood mote see,
 And loden all with fruit, as thick as it might be.

liv.

Their fruit was golden apples glistring bright.

This mythology is drawn from Claudian.
 Plato consoles Proserpine with these promises.

— — — — Nec mollia desunt
 Prata tibi : zephyris illic melioribus halant
 Perpetui flores, quos nec tua protulit Enna.
 Est etiam lucis arbor prædives opacis,
 Fulgenti virides ramos curvata matello.
 Hæc tibi sacra datur ; fortunatumque tenebis
 Autumnum, et fulvis semper ditabere pomis*.

The golden fruit, and a silver stoole, are afterwards offered to the knight by Mæmmon, as objects of temptation.

* Rapt. Pros. l. 2. v. 290.

——— Thou fearfull foole,
 Why takest not of that same fruit of gold,
 Ne sittest downe on that same silver stoole,
 To rest thy weary person in the shadow coole ?

Ovid relates, that Proserpine would have been restored to her modern Ceres, had she not been observed by Ascalaphus to pluck a radiant apple from a tree which grew in her garden ; the same, I suppose, which Claudian speaks of in the verses just quoted.

— — Cereri certum est educere natam :
 Non ita fata sinunt ; quoniam jejunia virgo
 Solverat, et cultis dum simplex errat in hortis
 Puniceum curvâ decerpserat arbore pomum*.

From these verses Spenser seems to have borrowed, and to have adapted to his present purpose, the notion that these golden apples were prohibited fruit. The Silver Stoole is added from his own fancy, and is a new

* Met. l. 5. v. 533.

circumstance of temptation. His own allegorising invention has also feigned, that the plants which grew in the garden of Proserpine, were—

— Direful deadly blacke, both leaf and bloom,
Fit to adorn the dead, and deck the dreary toomb.
st. 51.

Whereas Claudian describes this garden as filled with flowers more beautiful than those of Enna. Nor is he less attentive to the ancient fabulists, where he tells us, that the tree of the Hesperides sprung from this of Proserpine; that these were thrown in the way of Hippomanes and Atalanta, st. 54; and that those with which Acontius won Cydippe, and which Ate flung among the gods, were gathered from Proserpine's tree, st. 55. He adds, that the branches of this tree overspread the river Cocytus, in which Tantalus was plunged to the chin, and who

was perpetually catching at its fruit. Homer relates, that many trees of delicious fruit waved over the lake in which Tantalus was placed; but it does not appear from Homer, that Tantalus was fixed in Cocytus, but in some lake peculiarly appropriated to his punishment.

Εἰσαὶτ' ἐν Αἴμνῃ. ———

Spenser has also made another use of Cocytus: that the shores of this river eternally resounded with the shrieks of damned ghosts who were doomed to suffer an everlasting immersion in its loathsome waters. Cocytus, says ancient fable indeed, must be passed, before there is any possibility of arriving at the infernal regions: but we are not taught, that it was a punishment allotted to any of the ghosts, to be thus plunged into its waves; nor that this circumstance was the

cause of the ceaseless lamentations which echoed around its banks.

What Spenser has invented, and added to ancient tradition, concerning Cocytus, exhibits a fine image. He feigns, that when Sir Guyon came to this river,

— — He clomb up to the bank,
And looking downe, saw many damned wights
In those sad waves ; which direfull deadly stanke,
Plunged continually of cruel sprights,
That with their piteous cries, and yelling shrights,
They made the further shore resounden wide.

B. ii. c. xii. s. xlvii.

They in that place him Genius do call :
Not that cœlestial powre, to whom the care
Of life and generation over all
That lives, pertaines in charge particular,
Who wondrous thinges concerning our welfare,
And strange phantomes does let us oft foresee.

xlvi.

Therefore a God him sage antiquity
Did wisely make, and good Agdistes call,
But this same was to that quite contrary,
The foe of life, that good envies to all,
That secretly doth us procure to fall
Through guilefull semblaunts which he makes us see.

These lines may be farther illustrated, as they are probably drawn from the following passage in *Natalis Comes*.

“ Dictus est autem Genius, ut placuit latinis, a gignendo, vel quia nobiscum gignatur, vel quia illi procreandorum cura divinitus commissa putaretur. Hic creditur nobis clam nunc suadens, nunc dissuadens, universam vitam nostram gubernare. . . . Nam existimantur Genii Dæmones rerum, quas voluerint nobis persuadere, spectra et imagines sibi, tanquam in speculo imprimere, quodcunque illis facillimum sit. In quæ spectra cum anima nostra clam respexerit, illa sibi veniunt in mentem, quæ si ratione perpendantur, tum recta fit animi deliberatio: at si quis posthabita ratione, malorum, spectrorum et visorum ductu feratur, ille in multos errores incurrat necesse est, si spectra fuerint præcipue a malignis dæmonibus oblata*.”

That the first Genius here mentioned was likewise called Agdistes, we learn from the same author.—“*Quem postea Agdistem appellarunt**.”

The ceremony of offering flowers and wine to the Genius expressed in these lines—

With diverse flowers he daintily was deckt,
And strowed round about, and by his side
A mighty mazer bowle of wine was sett,
As if it had to him been sacrifice.

st. 49.

Is found in Horace—

— — piabant

Floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis ævit†.

The Genius spoken of in the following stanzas seems to be that which is represented in the Picture of the sophist Cebes.

* 4. 3.

† Epist. 2. b. 2. v. 143.

And double gates it had, which open'd wide,
 By which both in and out men moten pass ;
 Th' one faire and freshe, the other òld and dride :
 Old Genius the porter of them was,
 Old Genius, the which a double nature has.

3. 6. 31.

xxii.

He letteth in, he letteth out to wend,
 All that to come into the world desire :
 A thousand thousand naked babes attend
 About him day and night, which doe require,
 That he with fleshlie weedes would them attire.

“Ὁρατε, εφη, τον περιβολον τειλον; Ορωμεν. Τειλο πρω-
 τον δει ειδεναι υμας, υιι καλειται ο τοπωθ ειθι, ΒΙΟΣ.
 Και ο οχλοθ ο πολυς, ο παρα την πυλην εφεσως, υι μελ-
 λονιες εισπορευεσθαι εις τον βιον, ειθι εισιν. Ο δε ΓΕ-
 ΡΩΝ, ο ανω εστηκως, εχων χαλτην τινα εν τη χειρι, και τη
 ειερα ωσπερ δεικνυων τι, ειθι ΔΑΙΜΩΝ καλειται. Προσ-
 λαττει δε τοις εισπορευομενοις τι δει αυθις ποιειν, &c.”

—“Cernitis, inquit, septum hoc? Cernimus.
 Hoc primùm vobis tenendum est, locum
 hanc appellari vitam; et magnam multitudi-
 nem, quæ portæ assistit, eos esse qui in vitam
 venturi sunt. Senex is qui superne stat,

chartam quamdam una manu tenens, altera vero quiddam quasi monstrans, Genius dicitur. Mandat autem ingredientibus, quid eis, ubi in vitam venerint, faciendum sit."

The Third Booke of the Faerie Queene ; containing the Legend of Britomartis, or of Chastity.

Britomartis, among the Cretans, was another name for Diana, the goddess of Chastity ; and in this book, Spenser's Britomartis is represented as the patroness of Chastity. I think she is so called in Claudian. It is not improbable, as our author has copied the greatest part of the second Canto of this book from the Ceiris of Virgil, that he found, from the same poem, that Britomartis was a name for Diana, viz.

Dyctinnam dixere tuo de nomine Lunam*.

* Ver. 305.

She was a Cretan nymph, and the daughter of Jupiter and Charme, whom Virgil has introduced in his Ceiris, as the nurse of Scylla, and from whom our author has copied his Glauce, Britomart's nurse, in the Canto mentioned above. She was called Dictynna, because she invented nets for hunting, which being also one of Diana's names, Britomartis and Diana were looked upon as the same. Callimachus speaks of her as one of the nymphs of Diana's train, but adds, that she was called by the Cydonians, Dictynna. He has left the history of Britomartis in his hymn to Diana.

Ἐξοχα δ' ἀλλῶν Γορτυνίδα φίλας νυμφῆν
 Ἐλλοφονὸν ΒΡΙΤΟΜΑΡΤΙΝ, εὐσκοπὸν ἥς πόλε Μινῶς
 Πτοιγθεῖς ὑπ' ἐρωϊῖ καλὴδραμεν ἕρεα Κρήτης.
 Ἡ δ' οἷε μὲν λασιήσιν ὑπο δρυσι κρυπτεῖτο νυμφῆ,
 Ἀλλοτὶ δ' εἰαμενῆσιν. Ὁ δ' ἐννεα μῆνας εφοῖα
 Παιπαλα τε, κρημνιστὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀνεπαυσε διωκτὺν,
 Μεσφ' ὅτε μαρπτομένη καὶ δὴ σχεδὸν ἡλατο ποντὸν
 Περὶ γὰρ ἐξ ὑπάλωιο, καὶ ἐνθόρεν εἰς ἀλίων
 Αἰκίῳ, τὰ σφ' ἐσάωσεν. Ὁδὲν μείλειτα Κυδωνες

Νυμφαν μὲν ΔΙΚΤΥΝΑΝ· ὅρῳ δ' ὄθεν ἡλατο νυμφή,
 Δικταίον καλεῖσιν· ἀναστῆσαντο δὲ θυγαῖρες,
 ἱερα δὲ ῥέζουσι *. — — —

Præcipue autem inter alias omnes Gortynida amasti
 Nympham,
 Cervarum Venatricem, Britomartin, Jaculatricem; cujus
 olim Minos
 Amore percussus, pervagatus est montes Cretæ.
 Illa vero alias quidem hirtis sub quereubus habitabat
 Nympha,
 Alias autem in locis uliginosis. At ipse novem menses
 percurrebat
 Loca prærupta, et pendentē scopulos: nec intermisit
 insectationem,
 Donec apprehensa ferme Nympha insiliit in mare
 Ab alto vertice; insiliit autem in piscatorum
 Retia, quæ ipsam conserarunt: hinc deinceps Cydones
 Nympham ipsam, Dictynnam; montem vero, unde de-
 siliit Nympha,
 Dictæum appellant: excitatisque ibi sacris
 Sacra etiam faciunt. — — —

Upon the word *Βριτομαρτίς*, says the scholiast,
 ΒΡΙΤΟΜΑΡΤΙΣ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου τῆς νυμφῆς· ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ

* Τὴν εἰς *Apł.* v. 189. We read nearly the same
 account of this nymph in the *METAMORΦΩΣΕΙΣ* of
 Antoninus Liberalis, Fab. 40. p. 50. Basil. 1558.

APTEMIS εν Κρήνῃ BRITOMARTIS τιμαίαι, ὡς Διογενίαν⊙. And Solinus speaks to the same effect.—“Cretes Dianam religiosissime, venerantur, Βριτομαρτίην gentiliter nominantes; quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulcem*.” But although Spenser in Britomartis had some reference to Diana, yet at the same time he intended to denote by that name the martial Britonesse.

The reader is desired to take notice, that the passage which Spenser has copied from the Ceiris of Virgil, begins at this verse of that poem—

Quam simul Ogygii Phænicis filia Charme,†

And ends at—

Despue ter, virgo : numero deus impare gaudet ‡.

* Polyhist. c. 17. † Ver. 223. ‡ Ver. 373.

B. ii. c. ix. s. xxii.

He is describing the Castle of Alma.

The frame thereof seemed partly circulare,
And part triangulare, &c.

The philosophy of this abstruse stanza, is explained in a learned epistle of Sir Kenelm Digby*, addressed to Sir Edward Stradling. It is partly formed on the system of Plato, who was a great favourite of those writers, whom Spenser chiefly studied and copied, the Italian poets, particularly Petrarch. The sixth canto of the third book, especially the second, and the thirty-second stanza, explained above, together with his Hymnes of Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty, are evident proofs of our author's attachment to the Platonic school.

* First printed in a single pamphlet, viz. *Observations on xxii. stanza, &c.* Lond. 1644. 8vo. It is also published in *Scrinia Sacra*, 4to. pag. 244. London, 1654.

The notions of our author's friend, Sir Philip Sydney, who, with many others of that age, had a strong Platonic cast, perhaps contributed not a little to fix Spenser's choice on the subject of the Hymnes just mentioned. Take his own words in the Defence of Poesie. "That lyrical kind of songs and sonnets—which—how well it might be employed, and with how heavenly fruits both in publicke and private, in singing the praises of the Immortal Beauty*."

B. iii. c. vi. s. xxx.

He speaks of the Garden of Adonis.

In that same garden all the goodly flowres
Wherewith dame Nature doth her beautifie,
Are fetcht; there is the first seminarie
Of all things that are born to live and die.

In his particular description of this garden,

* Ad Calc. Pembroke's Arcadia, pag. 564. Edit. n^o supr.

the general idea of which is founded in ancient story, he perhaps had an eye to that part of the fable of Adonis, in which he is supposed to represent the sun, which quickens the growth of all things. Thus Orpheus in his Hymn to Adonis.

Εὐθελε, πολυμορφε, τροφή πάντων αριδῆλε,
 Κερή και κόρε, σὺ πᾶσι θαλάμῳ ἀμειν, Ἀδωνι,
 Σθέννυμενε, λαμπιώντε καλαῖς ἐν κυκλασὶν ὥραις.

Prudens, multiformis, pabulum omnibus præclarum,
 Puella et puer, tu omnibus germen, Adoni,
 Extincte, fulgensque in pulchris redeuntibus horis.

Others represent him as the seed of wheat. Thus the scholiasts on Theocritus.—“ Τὸ το λεγόμενον, τοῖσιν ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς. Ὅτι ὁ Ἀδωνις, ἦσαν ὁ σπέρμα ὁ σπείρομενος, ἐξ μηνῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ποιεῖ ὑπὸ τῆς σποράς, καὶ ἐξ μηνῶν ἐχει αὐτὸν ἢ Ἀφροδίτῃ, τέλεισιν, ἢ εὐκρασία τῷ αἵματι, καὶ ἐκτοῦ λαμβανῶσιν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀνθρώποι *.”—“Hoc revera ita se habet: scilicet quod Adonis est Frumentum satum; quod sex menses sub

* Ad Idyll. 3. v. 48.

terra degit, et sex menses eum habet Venus ;
nimirum aeris temperies, et postea a messoribus colligitur.”—Orpheus, in the same hymn, calls the body of Adonis—

— — — Δεμας ωριονακρον.

— — — Corpus frugiferum.

He has placed Cupid and Psyche in this garden, where they live together in,

— Stedfast love, and happy state.

st. 50.

But Apuleius represents this happy state of Cupid and Psyche, to have commenced after their reception into heaven. However, their offspring Pleasure is authorised by Apuleius. “Sic ecce Psyche venit in manum Cupidinis; et nascitur illis maturo partu filia quam Voluptatem nominamus*.” He has made

* Metam. l. 6.

Pleasure the daughter of Cupid in another poem. Speaking to that deity.

There with thy daughter Pleasure they do play
Their hurtlesse sports*.

B. iii. c. xi. s. xlvii.

Of the statue of Cupid.

— Wings it had with sundrie colours dight,
More sundrie colours than the proud pavone
Bears in his boasted fan, or Iris bright,
When her discolour'd bow she spreads thro' heaven bright.

Cupid was represented by the ancients with parti-coloured wings, as we learn, among others, from the following passage of an epigram ascribed to Virgil.

Marmoreusque tibi Diversicoloribus alis
In morem picta stabit Amor pharetra†.

* Hymne to love.

† Virgil. Catalect. Burman. edit. vol. iv. pag. 143. Ad Venerem.

But this splendid plumage was probably supplied by Spenser's imagination; or from that fund of brilliant imagery—the Italian poets. In the *Pastorals*, March, he draws Cupid after the same manner.

With that sprung forth a naked swaine,
With spotted wings like peacocke's train.

Thus also Cupid, in the next *Canto*, st. 23.

And clapt on high his coloured winges twaine.

In *Muipotmos* his wings are compared with those of a butterfly.

Bears in his wings so manie a changefull token.

In the comparison of the peacock and the rainbow, as they occur together, he probably imitated Tasso.

Ne 'l superbo Pavon si vago in monstra.
 Spiega la pompa de l' occhiute piume :
 Nel' Iride si bella indora, e inostra
 Il curvo grembo e rugiadoso lumè*.

The jolly peacock spreads not half so fair
 The eyed feathers of his pompous train ;
 Nor so bends golden Iris in the air
 Her twenty-colour'd bow thro' clouds of rain.
 Fairfax.

He has again joined these two comparisons.
 Speaking of a butterfly's wings, as before.

Not half so many sundrie colours are
 In Iris bowe, — — —
 Nor Juno's bird, in her eye-spotted traine,
 So many goodlie colours doth containe†.

Where "eye-spotted traine" is plainly the
 occhiute piume of the Italian poet. Shak-
 speare calls the peacock—

———— The eye-train'd Bird‡.

* Gier. Liberat. c. 16. s. 24. † Muipotmos.

‡ Tam. Shrew. A. 4. sc. 13.

Chaucer, in one of his figures of Cupid, supposes that his wings were adorned with shining feathers.

And Angelike his wingis sawe I sprede*.

B. iii. c. xii. s. vii.

And everie wood and every valley wide
He fill'd with Hyla's name ; the nymphes eke Hylas cride.

Most of the ancient writers, who relate the history of Hylas, mention the circumstance of Hylas's name being often re-echoed by the hills, &c. when it was so loudly and frequently called upon by Hercules. But I do not recollect that any of them represent the nymphs as repeating his name. With regard to the former particular, Antoninus Liberalis has given us an explanation of it, not generally known, from the lost ΕΤΕΡΟΙΟΤΜΕΝΩΝ, or Transformations, of Nicander.

* Leg. of G. Wom. v. 236.

—“ Hercules,” says he, “ having made the hills and forests tremble, by calling Hylas so mightily ; the nymphs who had snatched him away, fearing lest the enraged lover should at last discover Hylas in their fountain, transformed him into Echo, who answered Hylas to every call of Hercules.” This solution throws a new light on the circumstance of Hylas’s name being so often echoed back, and accounts for it being so particularly and uniformly insisted on by Propertius*, Virgil†, and Valerius Flaccus‡. And that this was a common tradition of antiquity, though not commonly recorded, is still further manifested by what Antoninus continues to relate from the same Nicander.—“ The inhabitants to this day sacrifice to Hylas on the banks of his fountain ; in which ceremony the priest

* De Raptu Hylæ, El. 1. 20. † Eclog. 6. v. 44.

‡ Argon. l. 7. 593.

calls out Hylas thrice, and is answered Hylas by Echo thrice.*”

The disappointment and distress of Hercules, after he had lost his favourite Hylas, is well described by Valerius Flaccus†; particularly the circumstance of the night coming on, and adding to his fears, is beautifully touched.

— — Varios hinc excitat æstus
Nube mali percussus amor; quibus hæserit oris.

* There is good reason to conclude, that this book of Antoninus, which consists of various little histories, was collected, rather than composed by its author. Many of the stories seem to be literally transcribed from the respective mythologists who are referred to in each. This is highly probable, as the Greek of some of the stories is extremely pure, such as could not well be written by a Roman, and especially one who lived in the decline of the empire. There is likewise a great variety of style, in the different narrations, and yet a sameness of style in those which bear the name of the same author. Thus this compiler is more valuable than is imagined, as he has preserved to us the fragments of many famous authors, all whose works are supposed to be entirely lost.

† Argon. 3. 565. seq.

- Quis tales impune moras, casusve laborve,
 Attulerit ; densam interea descendere noctem
 Jam majore metu ; tum vero et pallor et amens
 Cum piceo sudore rigor. — —

And the artifice by which Hylas is decoyed to the fountain, is a pretty poetical fiction *. It is remarkable, that Scaliger, who in general prefers Flaccus to his original Appollonius, should deliver this opinion upon the similes of both poets, concerning the anguish felt by Hercules on the loss of Hylas.—“ Hæc quidem [Flacci] sonora magis ; plus tamen arident Græca†.” This indeed is a high concession from a critic, who has indiscriminately declared himself a professed enemy to the more ancient and simple Grecian poets. In his Comparison of Homer with Virgil, one would suspect, that he had received some personal affront from the former ; and by producing a short specimen of his manner, I

* Argon. v. 545.

† Poet. b. 5. l. 6.

will give the reader an opportunity of determining, whether the censures which Scaliger casts upon the father of poetry in the course of this comparison, are the effect of taste and judgment, or of caprice and ignorance. He informs us, that Homer is a little better than a common crier, as different from Virgil, as a grave and prudent matron from a weak giddy girl; he tells scandalous lies; his syrens in the *Odyssey* sing such a wretched song, as would hardly tempt his [Scaliger's] cook to dance; his epithets are mostly frigid, childish, and foolish; some of his lines are written by a school-boy, and some are as barbarous as the *Polypheme* he describes; he puts a bawdy word in the mouth of *Juno*, importing the act of generation; he has no notion of boar-hunting; he has most improperly placed, a blacksmith's shop in heaven; he describes the fall of a poplar tree with as little skill as a carpenter would show in felling it; his *Nestor* is a mere babbler in the first and

seventh Iliad, in the eleventh quite wearies the reader, and in the twenty-third turns downright driveller; he wrote over a bottle, &c. &c*. The truth is, that Scaliger had no notion of simple and genuine beauty; nor had ever considered the manners and customs which prevailed in early times.

B. iv. c. x. s. xlvii.

To Venus.

Great God, &c.

The poet prepares the reader for this appellation 'God', applied to Venus. st. 41.

But for they say, she has both kinds in one,
Both male and female, both under one name:
She sire and mother is herself alone,
Begets and eke conceives, ne needeth other none.

* Ibid. passim.

He has also followed the same notion in
Colin Clout's Come Home again.

For Venus selfe doth solely coupleseeme,
Both male and female through commixture joyn'd,

Thus he has made Envy male, 1. 4. 30. and
female, 5. 12. 29.

B. v. c. i. s. xii.

But when she parted thence she left her groome
Anyron man, which did on her attend,
Always to execute her steadfast doome,
And willed him with Argthegall to wend,
And do whatever things he did intend :
His name was Talus, made of iron mould,
Immoveable, resistless, without end ;
Who in his hand an iron flail did hold,
With which he thresht out falsehood, and did truth
unfold.

The character of executing justice, here
attributed to Talus, is agreeable to that which

he bears in ancient story; nor has Spenser greatly varied from antiquity in the make of this wonderful man; for he is there said to be formed of brass, and by our author of iron. Plato gives the following account of him.—
 “*Νομοφυλακι γὰρ αὐτῷ [Ραδαμανθῷ] ἐχρητο ὁ Μίνως κατὰ αὖτ’ τα δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀλλήν Κρήτην τῷ ΤΑΛΩ. Ὁ γὰρ ΤΑΛΩΣ τρεῖς περιηεῖ τὴν ἐνιαυτὸν κατὰ τὰς κώμας, φυλατῶν τὰς νόμους ἐν αὐταῖς ἐν χαλκοῖς γραμματαῖσις ἔχων γεγραμμένους· ὁθεν ΧΑΛΚΟΤΕ ἐκλήθη*.”* “*Utebatur autem Minos hoc legum suarum custode apud urbem; in cæteris vero Cretæ partibus Talo. Et profecto Talus ter in anno vicos circuibat, legibus tuendis intentus in illis; quas habebat in æneis tabulis inscriptas; unde nuncupatus est Talus.*” As to the circumstance of Talus traversing the isle of Crete, it exactly corresponds with what Spenser says afterwards of his iron man, who did the same in Ierne.

* In Minœ, Plat. op. edit. Serran. pag. 230. vol. i.

And that same yron man, which could reveale
 All hidden crimes, thro' all that realme he sent,
 To search out those that us'd to rob and steale,
 Or did rebell 'gainst lawfull government.

6. 12. 26.

Plato has told us, that Talus was denominated *brazen*, on account of his carrying the laws about him, written in brazen tables; but Apollonius informs us, that he was actually made of brass, and invulnerable.

Αλλ' ἦλοι το μὲν ἄλλο δέμας, καὶ γυῖα, τεῖνκτο
 Χαλκείῳ, καὶ ἀρρηκτός· ὕπαι δὲ οἱ ἔσκε τέγοντος
 Συριγῆ ἀιμάλοεσσα καλά σφυρον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τήνγῃ
 Λεπτός υμῆν ζωῆς ἔχε πείρατα καὶ θανάτοιο*.

Sed is cum cætero corpore et membris esset
 Æneus, et invulnerabilis, tamen sub tenonte habebat
 In malleolo turgentem sanguine venam, quam tenuis
 Continebat tunicula, et vitæ præstabat mortisque con-
 finium.

* Ἀργον. b. 4. v. 1645. Ibycus, quoted by Athenæus, relates, that Talus was beloved by Rhadamanthus, lib. 13. pag. 603. Ed. Ludg. 1657, fol.

Apollonius likewise takes notice of his circuiting Crete three times a year.

Τρεις περι χαλκείοις Κρήνην ποσι δινευοντα*.

Ter in anno Cretam æneis obeuntem pedibus.

Apollodorus will farther illustrate this matter.—“ Εἰπευθεν αναχθεντες [Αργοναυται] κωλυοντα, Κρήνη προσισχειν ὑπο ΤΑΛΩ· τῷον οἱ μεν τε χαλκικη γενεα ειναι λεγουσιν· οἱ δε ὑπο Ηφαιστ Μινω δοθηναι· ὅς ην ΧΑΛΚΟΤΣ ΑΝΗΡ· οἶδε Ταυρον αυλον λεγουσιν. Ειχε δε φλεβα μιαν απο αυχενος καταλεινυσαν αχρι σφυρων· κατα δε το δερμα της φλεβος ηλος διηριστο χαλκους. Ουτ* ο ΤΑΛΩΣ τρεις ἐκαστης ἡμερας την νησον περιβοχαζων ετηρει †.”

“ Exinde navigantes prohibentur quo minus Cretæ appellerent a Talo; hunc quidem ænei generis hominum esse dicunt; illi a Vulcano Minoi traditum fuisse: erat autem homo aheneus; sunt autem qui eum Taurum nominant. Habebat vero venam unam a cervice usque ad crura protensam; in tuni-

* Ibid. v. 1646.

† Bibliothec. b. 1. c. 26.

culâ vero venæ æneus infigebatur clavus.
Talus iste ter unoquoque die insulam per-
currens eam contuebatur.”—This marvellous
 swiftness of Talus is likewise referred to by
 our author.

His yron page, who him pursewd so light,
 As that it seem'd above the ground he went,
 For he was swift as swallow in her flight.

5. 1. 20.

And is alluded to by Catullus, in his Ode to
 Camerius, where he tells him that he should
 not be able to pursue him,

Non Custos si ego fingar ille Cretum *.

Orpheus, or rather † Onomacritus, calls Talus,
 in his Argonautics,

* Car. 56.

† Who lived in the time of the Pisistratic tyranny, about
 Olymp. 60. For a proof that the Argonautics, attributed
 to Orpheus, are the work of Onomacritus, see Voss. de
 Poet. Græc. c. 2. and c. 4. Olai Borrichii Dissert. de
 Poet. Græc. Dissert. 1. par. 17. See also Rhunken.
 Epist. Crit. ii. pag. 69. And Fulvius Ursinus, on Virgil's
 Imitations; Leovardiæ, 1747, pag. 38. apud Eclog. 3.

Χαλκεῖον τριγυγανῆα *. — — —

" The *brazen triple-giant*."

The circumstance of the iron flail is added from our author's imagination.

B. v. c. viii. s. xlvii.

Like raging Ino when with knife in hand
She threw her husband's murder'd infant out.

Ovid reports, Met. iv. 528. that Ino threw herself, together with her son Melicerta, from the summit of a rock into the sea. Others relate that she murdered Melicerta, and afterwards leaped into the sea. It is difficult to fix upon Spenser's precise meaning in these verses.

Ibid.

Or as that madding mother, 'mongst the rout,
Of Bacchus' priest, her own deare flesh did teare.

* *Αργον.* v. 1348.

The Madding Mother is Agave. Her son Pentheus being of a very temperate disposition, and consequently averse to the rites of Bacchus, she, together with the rest of the Mænades, tore him in pieces, in the midst of the Bacchanalia.

Mr. Upton *, instead of,

— — Her *owne* dear flesh did teare,

would read, her Son's *dear flesh*. But surely the poet, and with no great impropriety of expression, might mean her *Son's* flesh, by her *owne* flesh.

B. v. c. x. s. x.

Orthrus, begotten by great Typhaon,
And fowle Echidna, — —

who guarded the purple oxen of Geryon.

* Letter to G. West.

I wonder that Spenser should in this place have omitted the mention of a seven-headed dragon, who, together with Orthrus, was stationed to guard these oxen, and was likewise the offspring of Typhaon and Echidna. A dragon was too tempting a circumstance to be omitted.

B. iv. c. xi. s. xiii.

He is giving a catalogue of the sea-gods ;
among the rest is Astræus,

— — that did shame

Himselfe with incest of his kin unkend.

Natalis Comes thus relates the story of Astræus, “Astræus, qui per inscitiam congressus cum Alcippe sorore, sequenti die cognita affinitate ex annulo, mærore captus se in fluvium præcipitavit, qui prius dictus est Astræus ab ipso, &c *.” I think he is mentioned in Ælian. Of these afterwards, s. 17.

* 2. 8.

But why do I their names seek to rehearse,
Which all the world have with their issue fill'd?
How can they all in this so narrow verse
Contained be, &c.

Natalis Comes, having finished his catalogue of these divinities, adds, "*Ut alios infinitos prope prætermittam; nam plures quam octoginta me legisse memini.*" Spenser apparently took his catalogue from this mythologist.

Natalis Comes was then just published, and, I suppose, a popular book.

B. iv. c. xi. s. xix.

— — — So wise is Nereus old,
And so well skill'd: nathlesse he takes great joy
Oft-times among the wanton nymphes to sport and toy.

Of the justice and prophetic power of Nereus, testimonies are obvious. The latter part of his character may be illustrated from these verses of Orpheus*:

* Hymn.

Πενήκοντα ΚΟΡΑΙΣΙΝ ΑΓΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ *καὶ κομῶν*
Καλλιέκνοισι χοροῖς, Νηρεῦ. —→

Quinquaginta puellis lætate in fluctibus,
 Elegantibus choris, Nereu.

B. vi. c. x. s. xxii.

Of the Graces,

They are the daughters of sky-ruling Jove,
 By him begot of fair Eurynome.

Milton, in L'Allegro, represents the Graces as the offspring of Venus and Bacchus. This mythology, as an ingenious critic on that passage observes, suits the nature of Milton's subject; but I cannot be persuaded, that such a licence is allowable on any occasion.

The mention of Eurynome, in this stanza, puts me in mind of another passage in Milton, where the same goddess is also mentioned.

And fabled how the serpent, whom they call'd
 Ophion, with Eurynome, the wide
 Encroaching Eve, perhaps, had first the rule
 Of high Olympus *.

Which, as the learned Dr. Newton, and
 others, observe, is copied from these verses
 of Apollonius :

Ἡεῖδεν δ' ὡς πρῶτον Οφίων, Εὐρυνομήϊε ·
 Ωκεανίς, νιφοενίος ἔχρον κράϊ· Οὐλυμπόιο †.

Et cecinit ut in principio Ophion, Eurynomeque
 Oceanis, nivosi tenuerint verticem Olympi.

What I would further observe here, is, that
 Apollonius, as well as Milton, has hinted,
 that Ophion was of the *serpent* race. This
 will appear from considering the lines just
 preceding. Orpheus begins his song with
 the creation of things. After mentioning the
 sun and moon, mountains and rivers, he
 speaks of the creation of serpents.

* Parad. Lost. b. x. v. 530. † Αργον. b. i. v. 496.

Ὀυρεα τ' ὡς ἀνέτειλε, καὶ ὡς ποταμοὶ κελαδονίης
 Αὐτῇσι Νυμφῆσι, καὶ ΕΠΙΕΤΑ πανί' ἐγγενόιο*.

Quomodo orti sunt montes, et resonantes fluvii
 Cum ipsis nymphis, et quomodo omnia reptilia co-
 creverint.

And in the next line, from those ΕΠΙΕΤΑ,
 or *serpents*, he directly passes on to Ophion.

Ἦειδεν δ' ὡς πρῶτον ὈΦΙΩΝ, &c.

Thus there is a closer connexion, and an
 easier transition, in the context of the Greek
 poet, than appears at first sight.

Spenser alludes to this song of Orpheus,
 and the occasion on which it was sung, more
 than once.

* Ἀρσεν. b. i. v. 501.

Such one was Orpheus, that when strife was grown
 Amongst those famous impes of Greece, did take
 His silver harp in had, and shortly friends them make.

4. 2. 1.

And in Sonnet 44,

When those renowned noble peres of Greece
 Through stubborn pride among themselves did jar,
 Forgetful of the famous golden fleece,
 Then Orpheus with his harp their strife did bar.

Scaliger greatly censures the subject of this song in Apollonius, and prefers to it, the argument of the song of Orpheus, in Valerius Flaccus. “ Longe enim aptius [Orpheus] canit apud Flaccum, Minyas, et Phryxum et Athamantem, quam apud Apollonium terræ cœleque creationem. Quid enim Viris Militaribus cum Philosophorum Umbris * ?” But by this piece of criticism, Scaliger, not less remarkably than in his notions about Homer,

* Poet. b. 5. c. 6.

has betrayed his ignorance of the nature of ancient poetry, and of the character of Orpheus. "In the early ages of the Grecian state, the wild and barbarous inhabitants wanted the assistance of the Muses to soften and tame them. They stood in need of being impressed with an awe of superior and irresistible powers, and a liking to social life. They wanted a mythology to lead them by fear and dread, the only holds to be taken of a rude multitude, into a feeling of natural causes, and their influence upon our lives and actions. The wise and good among the antients saw this necessity and supplied it; the oldest of the inspired train were the Pii Vates, et Phœbo digna locuti: they had religion for their theme, and the service of mankind for their song*." And in another place the same author observes, that all the

* Blackwall's Enquiry into the Life, &c. of Homer, s. vi.

poems of Orpheus were “ philosophical, prophetic, and religious*.” The conduct therefore of Apollonius was perfectly just, in attributing a song to Orpheus, the subject of which was philosophy and religion. And it was for the same reason that † Onomacritus, many years before Apollonius, represented Orpheus singing the origin of the gods, and the creation of things, in his contest with Chiron.

But the propriety of the subject of this song in Apollonius is easily to be defended, without considering the character of Orpheus. The occasion of the song was a general quarrel among the Argonauts, whom Orpheus endeavours to pacify with the united powers of music and verse. On which account, says the scholiast, “ Τῇ προλήτῃ συγχωρεῖν

* S. vii.

† Argon, v. 419.

των χοιρειων αδειν βουλειαι, ως εκ τινος φιλονεικίας το
ιδιον εκαστον μελίσχεν, κῶ ταξιν ελαβεν. Οικεια δε κῶ τοις
ὑποκειμενοις πρᾶγμασιν ἢ ὡδη. Οἱ εἰς τῆς μαχῆς
παυσασθαι, κῶ εἰς τὴν οικειαν διαθεσιν επανιεναι."—To

this we may add, that a song whose subject is also religious, and which asserts the right Jupiter to the possession of Olympus, was here not only proper, but even expedient, as one of the Argonauts had but just before blasphemed Jupiter*. Nor were the auditors of this song altogether of so mean a condition as Scaliger insinuates. He terms them *Viri Militares*; but it is to be remembered that they were Princes and Demigods.

But whether the subject of the song of Orpheus in Apollonius be blameable or not, it has one essential circumstance, which indisputably gives it a superiority to that of Orpheus in Valerius Flaccus; I mean the design of it, which was to repress the vehe-

* L. i. v. 466.

mence of the passions : a design at once so agreeable to the peculiar character of Orpheus, and so expressive of the influence of music. In the Latin poet, Orpheus sings upon no occasion, and to no end, unless it be to that general one of entertainment, and of making the night pass more pleasantly,

Thracius hic noctem dulci testudine vates
Extrahit *. — — —

Milton in the following verses alludes both to Apollonius and Onomacritus, in their respective songs of Orpheus.

Tunc de more sedens festa ad convivia vates
Æsculea intonsos redimitus ab arbore crines,
Heroumque actus, imitandaque gesta canebat;
Et Chaos, et positi late fundamina mundi;
Reptantesque deos, et alentes numina glandes;
Et nondum Ætneo quæsitum fulmen ab antro.
Denique quid vobis modulamen inane juvabit,
Verborum sensusque vacans, numerique loquacis ?

* Argon. b. 1. v. 277.

Silvestres decet iste chorus, non Orpheus, cantus;
 Qui tenuit fluvios, et quercubus addidit aures,
 Carmine, non cithara *. — — —

Silius Italicus alludes to the contest of Chiron with Orpheus, as related by Onomacritus. In describing the miraculous force of the music of Orpheus, he has plainly translated from the Greek poet; particularly in this circumstance.

Οἶονες τ' ἐκυκλῆστο βοαυλῶν Κελαιόχοιο
 Τάρσοις κεκμηῶσιν, ἐῆς δ' ελαθοντο καλῆς †.

Avesque circumdederunt stabula Centauri,
 Pennis defessis, suique oblitæ erant nidi.

The verses of Silius Italicus are these.

Immemor et dulcis nidi, positoque volatu,
 Non mota volueris captiva pependit in æthra †.

Ad Patrem. v. 44.

† 436.

† B. 11. v. 467.

The Latin poet has, however, omitted to describe the manner in which Chiron was affected, at seeing the wonderful effect of Orpheus's music on the trees, mountains, rivers, beasts, &c. His astonishment on that occasion is thus characteristically and beautifully painted by Onomacritus.

*Αὐτὰρ ὄρων Κένταυρος ἐθαυζέε, χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ
Ποικύον ἐπισσειῶν· ὕδας δ' ἤρασσεν ὀπλήσιν *.*

Sed videns hæc Centaurus obstupuit; manum super
volam
Valde feriens, terramque pulsavit unguibus.

I fear I have digressed too far already. But an imitation of Milton from his favourite Apollonius having been produced in this remark, I hope I shall be pardoned for taking so fair an opportunity of introducing another. Milton thus describes Adam's hair,

* *Αρ/ον.* 438.

— — — Hyacinthine locks

Round from his parted forelock manly hung

Clustering*.

The circumstance of the hair hanging like bunches of grapes has been justly admired : but it is literally translated from this description of Apollo's hair in Apollonius.

—— Κρυσσοί δε παρειῶν ἑκάλεσθε

Πλοχοὶ ΒΟΤΡΟΕΝΤΕΣ ἐπερῶντο κινίῃ†

— Aurei ab utraque gena

Cincinnati racemantes assultabant cunty.

The word *Βοτρυοεντες* could hardly have been rendered into English by any other word than clustering. But it must not be omitted here, that we find the same metaphor in a little poem on the statue of Homer, in the Anthologia.

* Par. L. b. 4. v. 301.

† Αργον. l. 2. v. 678.

Αυχενί μιν κυπλόνι λεράν επεστέλει ΒΟΤΡΥΣ
ΚΑΙΤΗΣ, εισοκίσω πεφορημένον*.—

Cervice quidem inclinata senex [canus] trahebatur
racemus
Comæ, in tergum delatus. — —

B. vii. c. vi. s. iii.

Spenser here makes Hecate the daughter of the Titans. Authors differ about the parentage of Hecate. Onomacritus calls her,

Ταρταροπις Εκατή †. — — —

Tartari filia Hecate. — —

The Titans were indeed thrown into Tartarus; but it could not be concluded from

* Henr. Steph. fol. 1566 βιβ. πεμπτ. pag. 394. Εἰς ὈΜΗΡΟΝ. Carm. 16.

† Αἰδον. v. 975.

thence that the Titans were Hecate's parents; although this, I presume, is the best argument our author could have offered for his genealogy. In this stanza, Bellona is likewise feigned to be the offspring of the Titans; but Bellona was the sister of Mars, who was son of Jupiter and Juno; or, as Ovid reports, of Juno alone.

A classical reader of the *Fairy Queen* may discover many more examples which properly belong to this section. But my principal design was to select those allusions which best shewed how such an invention as Spenser's acted on the fictions of others. Hence it was necessary sometimes to enter into a minute detail of the fables of antiquity, not out of an ostentation of erudition, but that it might appear, what belonged to the poet, and what to ancient story. Those examples which are here omitted, have been

collected by the author of *Remarks on Spenser's Poems*, with all the learning and sagacity for which that critic is so remarkable, and which are so peculiarly requisite for such a research.

SECT. IV.

Of Spenser' Stanza, Versification, and Language.

ALTHOUGH Spenser's favourite Chaucer had made use of the *ottava rima**, or stanza of eight lines; yet it seems probable that Spenser was principally induced to adopt it, with the addition of one line, from the practice of Ariosto and Tasso, the most fashionable poets of his age. But Spenser, in chusing this stanza, did not sufficiently consider the genius of the English language, which does not easily fall into a frequent repetition of the same termination; a circum-

* Chaucer's stanza is not strictly so. Betussi, in his Life of Boccace, acquaints us, that Boccace was the inventor of the *ottava rima*, and that the Theseide of that author was the first poem in which it was ever applied.

stance natural to the Italian, which deals largely in identical cadences.

Besides, it is to be remembered, that Tasso and Ariosto did not embarrass themselves with the necessity of finding out so many similar terminations as Spenser. Their *ottava rima* has only three similar endings, alternately rhyming. The two last lines formed a distinct rhyme. But in Spenser, the second rhyme is repeated four times, and the third three*.

This constraint led our author into many absurdities; the most striking and obvious of which seem to be the following.

I. It obliged him to dilate the thing to be expressed, however unimportant, with trifling and tedious circumlocutions, viz.

* See examples of the measures of the Provençal poets in Petrarch. Spenser forms a compound of many of these.

Now hath fair Phœbe, with her silver face,
 Thrice seen the shadows of this nether world,
 Sith last I left that honourable place,
 In which her royal presence is enroll'd.

2. 3. 44.

That is, "it is three months since I left her palace."

II. It necessitated him, when matter failed towards the close of a stanza, to run into a ridiculous redundancy and repetition of words, viz.

In which was nothing pourtrahed nor wrought,
 Nor wrought nor pourtrahed, but easie to be thought.

2. 9. 33.

III. It forced him, that he might make out his complement of rhymes, to introduce a puerile or impertinent idea, viz.

Not that proud towre of Troy, though richly gilt.

2. 9. 45.

Being here laid under the compulsion of producing a consonant word to *spilt* and *built*, which are preceding rhymes, he has mechanically given us an image at once little and improper.

To the difficulty of a stanza so injudiciously chosen, I think we may properly impute the great number of his ellipses, some of which will be pointed out at large in another place; and it may be easily conceived, how that constraint which occasioned superfluity, should at the same time be the cause of omission.

Notwithstanding these inconveniences flow from Spenser's measure, it must yet be owned, that some advantages arise from it; and we may venture to affirm, that the fullness and significancy of Spenser's descriptions is often owing to the prolixity of his stanza, and the multitude of his rhymes.—

The discerning reader is desired to consider the following stanza, as an instance of what is here advanced. Guyon is binding Furor.

With hundred iron chaines he did him biad
 And hundred knots, which did him sore constraine;
 Yet his great iron teeth he still did grind,
 And grimly gnash, threatening revenge in vaine:
 His burning eyen, whom bloudie strakes did staine,
 Stared full wide, and threw forth sparks of fire;
 And more for ranke despight, than for great paine,
 Shakt his long locks colour'd like copper wire,
 And bit his tawny beard to shew his raging ire.

2. 4. 15.

In the subsequent stanza there are some images, which perhaps were produced by a multiplicity of rhymes.

He all that night, that too long night did passe,
 And now the day out of the ocean-maine
 Began to peep above this earthly masse,
 With pearly dew sprinkling the morning grasse;
 Then up he rose like heavy lump of leade,
 That in his face, as in a looking glasse,
 The signs of anguish one might plainly reade.

3. 5. 26.

Dryden, I think, somewhere remarks, that rhyme often helped him into a thought ; an observation, which, probably, Spenser's experience had likewise supplied him with. Spenser, however, must have found more assistance in this respect, from writing in rhyme, than Dryden, in proportion as his stanza obliged him to a more repeated use of it.

In speaking of Spenser's rhyme, it ought to be remarked, that he often new-spells a word to make it rhyme more precisely.

Take these specimens.

And of her own foule entrailes makes her *meat*,
Meat fit for such a monster's monstrous *diat*.

6, 12. 31.

Timely to joy, and carry comely *cheare*,
For though this clowd have now me overcast,
Yet do I not of better time *despeare*.

5, 5. 38.

Though when the term is full *accomplish'd*,
Then shall a sparke of fire which hath long while
Bene in his ashes raked up and *hid*.

3. 3. 47.

Then all the rest into their coches *clim*,
And through, &c.
Upon great Neptune's necke they softly *swim*.

3. 4. 42.

— — — — — Mightily *amate*,
As fast as forward earst, now backward to *retrate*.

4. 3. 26.

Shall have that golden girdle for *reward*,
And of, &c.
Shall to the fairest lady be *prefar'd*.

4. 2. 27.

— — — — — Into the hardest *stone*,
Such as behind their backs, &c.
Were thrown by Pyrrha and *Deucalione*.

5. Introd. 2.

And, to be short, we meet with *yclad* for
yclad, *darre* for dare, *prejudixe* for prejudice,
sam for same, *lam* for lamb, *denay* for deny,
pervart for pervert, *heare* for haire, and
numberless other instances of orthography

destroyed for the sake of rhyme. This was a liberty which Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate frequently made use of; and it may not be improper in this place to exhibit the sentiments of a critic in Queen Elizabeth's age upon it. "Now there cannot be in a *maker* a fowler fault than to falsifie his accent to serve his cadence; or by untrue orthography to wrench his words to help his rhyme; for it is a sign that such a maker is not copious in his own language*."—However, he seems afterwards to allow the deviation from true spelling, in some measure. "It is somewhat more tollerable to help the rhyme by false orthographie, than to leave an unpleasant dissonance to the eare, by keeping trewe orthographie and losing the rime; as for example, it is better to rime *dore* with *restore*, than in his true orthographie which is *doore*,—Such men were in ef-

* The author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, *supr.* citat.

fect the most part of all your old rimers, and 'specially Gower, who, to make up his rime, would for the most part write his terminant syllable with false orthographie; and many times not sticke to put a plaine French word for an English; and so by your leave do many of our common rimers at this day*."

We find in many passages of our author the orthography violated, when the rhyme, without such an expedient, would be very exact; thus *bite*, when made to rhyme with *delight*, is sometimes spelt *bight*, as if the eye could be satisfied in this case as well as the ear. Instances of this sort occur often in Harrington's *Ariosto*, and more particularly of the word *said*, which is often occasionally written *sed*. This practice was continued as far down as the age of Milton.

* B. 2. c. 8.

Besides what the grim wolf, with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing *sed*.

Said is thus printed *sed* in the edition of 1645, that it might appear to rhyme, with greater propriety, to the preceding *spread*: later editors, not knowing the fashion of writing *said*, upon some occasions, *sed*, altered it to *fed*, which utterly destroyed the sense. The same spelling is found again in the same edition, and for the same reason, in *L'Allegro*.

She was pincht and pull'd she *sed*,
And he by friers lantern *led**.

* I shall here take occasion to illustrate the lines immediately following.

Tells how the drudging goblin swet
To earn his cream-bowl duly set,
When, &c. — — — —
Then lies him down the Lubbar-fiend;
And stretcht out all the chimney's length,
Baskes at the fire his hairy strength;
And crop-full out of doors he flings,
E'er the first cock his matin rings.

Hughes, not considering our author's common practice of mis-spelling a word for the convenience of his rhyme, makes him

The Goblin is Shakespeare's Robin Goodfellow, and the tradition about him is found in Harsenet's Declaration, &c. quoted above. "And if that the bowle of curdes and creame were not duly sett out for Robin Goodfellow, the frier, and Siss the dairy-maid, to meet him at, &c. why then either the pottage, &c." pag. 186. ch. 20.

The Lubbar-fiend seems to be the same traditionary being that is mentioned by Beaumont and Fletcher, "There is a pretty tale of a witch that had the devil's mark about her, (God bless us!) that had a gyaunt to her son, that was called Lob-lye-by-the-fire." Knight of the Burning Pestle, act 3. sc. 1. These old stories were not entirely forgotten in Milton's younger days.

The two last lines are plainly founded on those in the old song of Robin Goodfellow, printed by Peck.

When larks gin sing,
Away we fling.

The following lines in the *Paradise Regained*, are illustrated by Peck.

— — Beasts of chase, or fowl of game
In pastry built, or from the spit, or boil'd,
Gris-amber steam'd. — —

b. 2. v. 342.

guilty of many dissonant rhymes: for that editor, among other examples of his exactness, has reduced Spenser's text to modern orthography with great accuracy.

It is indeed surprising, upon the whole,

He observes, that in the reigns of Henry viii. and Queen Elizabeth, ambergrease was applied as a seasoning in cookery; particularly at a stately banquet made by Cardinal Wolsey. But, I must add, the practice was continued much later, and probably was not obsolete in the age [of Milton. Thus Drayton, in the *Moone-Calfe*, printed in 1627,

Eates capons cookt at fiftene crownes apiece,
With their fat bellies stufft with *amber-greece*.

Where ambergrease appears to have been a very costly ingredient; and indeed as such it is mentioned by Milton, who is representing a feast celebrated with all possible splendor and luxury. Ambergrease is mentioned much after the same manner, in Brown's *Britannia's Pastorals*. 1613.

— — — Her husband, weaken'd piece,
Must have his cullis mix'd with *amber grease*:
Pheasant and partridge into jelly turn'd,
Grated with gold. — — —

b. 2. s. 3. p. 58.

that Spenser should execute a poem of uncommon length, with so much spirit and ease, laden as he was with so many shackles, and embarrassed with so complicated a *bondage of riming*. Nor can I recollect, that he has been so careless as to suffer the same word to be repeated as a rhyme to itself, in more than four or five instances; a fault which, if he had more frequently committed, his manifold beauties of versification would have obliged us to overlook; and which Harrington should have avoided more scrupulously, to compensate, in some degree, for the tameness and prosaic mediocrity of his numbers.

Notwithstanding our author's frequent and affected usage of obsolete words and phrases*, yet it may be affirmed, that his

* The author of the *Arte of English Poesie* seems to blame Spenser for this. "Our *Maker* therefore, at these

style, in general, has great perspicuity and facility. It is also remarkable, that his lines are seldom broken by transpositions, antithese, or parentheses. His sense and sound are equally flowing and uninterrupted.—From this single consideration, an internal argument arises, which plainly demonstrates that Britaine's *Ida* is not written by Spenser. Let the reader judge from the following specimen.

dayes, shall not follow Piers Plowman, nor Gower, nor Lydgate, nor yet Chaucer; for their language is now out of use with us." b. 3. c. 1.

The *Fairy Queen* was not published when this critic wrote, so that this censure is levelled at the *Pastorals*, which, however, in another place he commends. "For eglogue and pastoral poesie, Sir Philip Sydney, and Maister Challener, and *that other gentleman* who wrote the late *Shepherd's Kalender*." b. 1. c. 31. Spenser had published his *Pastorals* about ten years before; to which he did not prefix his name.

One of Spenser's cotemporary poets has ridiculed the obsolete language of the *Fairy Queen*.

Let others sing of Knights and Palladines,
In *aged* accents and *untimely* words.

Daniel, sonnet lii.

Amongst the rest, that all the rest excell'd,
 A daintie boy there wonn'd, whose harmlesse yeares
 Now in their freshest budding gentlie swell'd :
 His nymph-like face ne'er felt the nimble sheeres,
 Youth's downie blossome through his cheek appeares ;
 His lovelie limbes (but love he quite discarded),
 Were made for play, (but he no play regarded) ;
 And fitt love to reward, and be with love rewarded.

High was his forehead, arch'd with silver mould,
 (Where never anger churlish wrinkle dighted),
 His auburn lockes hung like dark threads of gold,
 That wanton airs (with their faire length incited)
 To play among their wanton curles delighted.
 His smiling eyes with simple truth were stord ;
 Ah ! how should truth in those thief eyes be stord ;
 Which thousand loves had stoln, and never once restord.

His chearfull lookes, and merie face would prove
 (If eyes the index be where thoughts are read)
 A daintie play-fellow for naked love.
 Of all the other parts, &c *. — —

But there are other arguments which prove
 this poem to be the work of a different hand.
 It has a vein of pleasing description ; but is
 at the same time, filled with conceits and

* *Spencer's works*, Lond. 1750. vol. vi. pag. 34. duod.

witticisms, of which Spenser has much fewer than might be expected from the taste of his age. It's manner is like that of Fletcher's *Purple Island*. I suspect it to have been written in imitation of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* *. The author, whoever he was, certainly lived about the latter end of Elizabeth, or the beginning of James I.

Our author's Pastorals are written in professed imitation of Chaucer's style. This he tells us expressly in the beginning of *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*.

The shepherd's boy, best known by that name,
That after Tityrus † first sung his lay.

* The first Edition of which was printed, London, for William Leake, 1602, 12mo.

† Milton, in imitation of our author, styles Chaucer Tityrus, where he hints at Chaucer's having travelled into Italy.

Quin et in has quondam pervenit Tityrus oras.

Mansus, v. 34.

And the tale of the Oak and Brier, in the Eclogue of Februarie, is more peculiarly modelled after Chaucer's manner, and is accordingly thus introduced.

— — — — A tale of truth
Which I cond of Tityrus in my youth.

And in another pastoral he hints at his having copied Chaucer.

That Colin hight which well could pipe and sing,
For he of Tityrus his song did lere.

In the Pastorals he likewise appears to have attempted an imitation of the Visions of Pierce Plowman; for, after exhorting his muse not to contend with Chaucer, he adds,

Nor with the Plowman that the pilgrim playde awhile*.

* Epilogue to Shep. Kalend.

And besides, that his Pastorals might, in every respect, have the air of a work in old English, he has adopted and given them the title of an old book, called the Shepheard's Kalender*, first printed by Wynkin de Worde, and reprinted about twenty years before he published these Pastorals, viz. 1559. This is what E. K. means, where he says in his epistle prefixed, "He tearmeth it the Shepheard's Kalender, applying an old name to a new work." One of Spenser's reasons for using so much ancient phraseology in these Pastorals, was undoubtedly the obvious one of cloathing rural characters in the dress of doric simplicity; but the principal reason is, most probably, that which is delivered by

* Hearne calls this piece "a comical odd book, of which I have an imperfect copy, and look upon it as a great Curiosity." Not. ad Gul. Neubrig. vol. iii. pag. 749.

his friend and commentator, E. K *. who was " privie to all his designs :"—" In myne opinion, it is one especial prayse of many which are due to this poet, that he hath laboured to restore, as to their rightful heritage, such good and natural English words, as have been long time out of use, and almost cleane disherited; which is the only cause that our mother-tongue, which truly of itselfe is both full enough for prose, and stately enough for verse, hath long time beene counted most bare and barren of both; which default, when as some have endeavoured to salve and recure, they patched up the holes with peeces and ragges of other languages; borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, and every where of the Latine; not weighing how ill those tongues

* Some have thought that his name was Kerke. I suppose, because Spenser, in his letters to Harvey, mentions his lodging with one Mrs. Kerke, and, in the same, sends E. K.'s compliments to Harvey.

accord with themselves, but much worse with ours ; so now they have made our English tongue a gallimaufrey, or hodge-podge of all other speeches*," Thus that which induced Spenser to adopt so much obsolete language in the Pastorals, induced him likewise to do the same in the Fairy Queen. Hence too it appears, that he was disgusted with the practice of his cotemporary writers, who had adulterated, according to his judgment, the purity of the English tongue by various innovations from the Spanish, French, Latin, and Italian. And that this was a prevailing affectation in the age of Queen Elizabeth, may be concluded from the following passages.

Thus Marston in his Satires.

I cannot quote a *motte Italianate* ;
Or brand my Satires with a *Spanish terme* †.

* Ibid.

† Proem. b. 2.

Bishop Hall in his Satires, published in 1597.

There if he can with termes *Italianate*,
Big-sounding sentences, &c. — —

And Camden having given us a specimen of the Lord's Prayer in old English, has these words. "Hitherto will our sparkfull youth laugh at their great grand-fathers English, who had more care to do well than to speak minion-like; and left more glory to us by their exploiting great actes, than we shall by our forging new words and uncouth phrases*." A learned gentleman, one R. C. [Carew] who has addressed a letter to Camden, inserted in that author's *Remains*, thus speaks. "So have our Italian travellers brought us acquainted of their sweet-relished phrases;

* *Remains*. Artic. Languages.

even we seeke to make our good of our late Spanishemie, and fear as little the hurt of his tongue as the dint of his sword".— Again, " we within these sixty years have incorporated so many Latin and French words, as the third part of our tongue consisteth now in them." And Ascham in his Schole-master informs us, that not only the language, but the manners of Italy had totally infected his country-men, where he is describing the Italianized Englishman*.

* The same author acquaints us, that about this time an infinite number of Italian books were translated into English; among the rest were many Italian novels, the translations of which Shakespeare manifestly made use of for some of his plots. Those who have undertaken to point out the books from whence Shakespeare borrowed his plots, have not, I think, been able to discover the source from whence he drew the story of his Merchant of Venice; which, in all probability, is founded upon the following ancient ballad, which I met with in a large collection. Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. Cod. impress. A. Wood.

Our author's disapprobation of this practice appears more fully from his own words, where he expressly hints that Chaucer's lan-

A SONG, shewing the crueltie of GERNUTUS a Jewe, who lending to a merchant an hundred crownes, would have a pound of his fleshe, because he could not pay him at the time appointed.

In Venice towne not long agoe,
A cruell Jewe did dwell;
Which lived all on usurie,
As Italian writers tell.

Gernutus called was the Jewe, &c.

The whole song would be too prolix for this place. I shall transcribe only the close of the story; having premised, that the cunning and rapacious Jew is represented, in our ballad, to have lent an eminent merchant of Venice an hundred crowns, upon a bond, in which promise of payment is made within a year and a day; under the forfeiture of a pound of the merchant's flesh, in case of non-payment: that the merchant, on account of his ships being detained by contrary winds, was unable to perform his contract at the time appointed: that the affair was referred to a judge; that the friends of the merchant offered ten thousand crowns to absolve him, but that the Jew obstinately persisted in his demand of the forfeited pound of flesh.

guage, which he so closely copied, was the pure English.

Then said the judge, Yet good, my friend,
Let me of you desire,

To take the flesh from such a place
As yet you let him live;
Doe so, and loe an hundred crownes
To thee here I will give.

No, no, quoth he, &c.

* * * * *

For I will have my pound of fleshe,
From under his right side.

* * * * *

The bloudie Jewe now readie is,
With whetted blade in hand,
To spoyle the bloude of innocent,
By forfeit of his bond.

And as he was about to strike
In him the deadlie blow,
Stay (quoth the judge) thy crueltie,
I charge thee to do so.

Sith needs thou wilt thy forfeit have
Which is of flesh a pound;
See that thou shed no drop of bloud,
Nor yet the man confound.

— Dan Chaucer *well of English undefilde**.

4. 2. 32.

For if thou doe, like murderer
 Thou here shall hanged bee,
 Likewise of fleshe see that thou cut
 No more than longs to thee;

For if thou take or more or lesse
 To value of a mite,
 Thou shalt be hanged presentlie,
 As is both law and right.

Gernutus nowe waxt franticke mad,
 And wote not what to say;
 Quoth he, at last, ten thousand crownes
 I will that he shall pay;

And so I grant to sette him free
 The judge doth answer make,
 You shall not have a peny given,
 Your forfeiture now take.

* A learned and sagacious lexicographer gives a very different account of the purity of Chaucer's style.—
 'Chaucerus, pessimo exemplo, integris vocum plaus-
 tris ex eadem Gallia in nostram linguam invectis; eam,
 nimis antea a Normannorum victoria adulteratam, omni
 fere nativa gratia et nitore spoliavit, pro genuinis colori-
 bus fucum illinens, pro vera facie larvam induens.'—
 Skinner, Præfat. ad Etymolog. Ling. Anglic.

But although Spenser disapproved of this
corrupt adulteration of style, so fashionable

At the last he doth demand
But for to have his owne ;
No, (quoth the judge) doe as you list,
Thy judgment shall be showne ;

Either take your pound of fleshe, qd he,
Or cancell me your bond :
O cruel judge ! then quoth the Jewe,
That doth against me stand.

And so with griped grieved mind,
He biddeth them farewell,
All the people prais'd the Lord,
That ever this heard tell.

After which follows a moral exhortation, resulting from
the subject. But the whole may be seen in the Connoisseur,
vol. i. No. 16,

It may be objected, that this ballad might have been
written after, and copied from Shakespeare's play. But
if that had been the case, it is most likely that the au-
thor would have preserved Shakespeare's name of Shy-
lock for the Jew : and nothing is more likely than that
Shakespeare, in copying from this ballad, should alter
the name from Gernutus to one more Jewish ; and by
the alteration of the name his imitation was the better
disguised. Another argument, which would have ap-
peared much more convincing, had the whole song been

in his age, yet we find him, notwithstanding, frequently introducing words from a foreign tongue, such as *visnomie*, *amenance*, *arret*, *mesprise*, *sovenance*, *afraþ*, *aguise*, *amenage*, *obase*, and the like ; but these words the fre-

transcribed, but which perhaps will be allowed from this extract, is, that our ballad has the air of a narrative written before Shakespeare's play ; I mean that if it had been written after the play, it would have been much more full and circumstantial : At present, it has too much the nakedness of an original. Besides, the first stanza informs us, that the story was taken from some Italian novel. Thus much therefore is certain, that is, Shakespeare either copied from that Italian novel, or from this ballad : Now we have no translation, I presume, of such a novel into English ; if then it be granted that Shakespeare generally took his Italian stories from their English translations, and that the arguments above, concerning the prior antiquity of this ballad, are true, it will follow that Shakespeare copied from this ballad.

I shall only add, that it appears from S. Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, printed in 1579, that the character of a cruel and covetous Jew had been exhibited with good applause, before Shakespeare's Shylock appeared. The author is commending some plays, and among the rest, ' The Jewe and Ptolome shewne at the Bull ; the one representing the greedinesse of wordly chusers, and bloudy minds of Usurers, the other, &c."

quent return of his rhyme obliged him to introduce, and accordingly they will generally be found at the end of his lines. The poverty of our tongue, or rather the unfrequency of it's identical terminations, compelled him likewise, for the sake of rhyme, perpetually to coin new English words, such as *damnify'd*, *unmercify'd*, *wonderment*, *war-riment*, *unruliment*, *habitaunce*, *hazardrie*, &c. &c. To this cause his many Latinisms also may be attributed, which, like all the rest, are substituted to make out the necessary jingle.

The censure of Jonson, upon our author's style, is perhaps unreasonable: "Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language*." The ground-work and substance of his style is the language of his age. This indeed is seasoned with various expres-

* Discoveries.

sions, adopted from the elder poets ; but in such a manner, that the language of his age was rather strengthened and dignified, than debased and disguised, by such a practice. In truth, the affectation of Spenser in his point is by no means so striking and visible as Jonson has insinuated ; nor is his phraseology so difficult and obsolete as it is generally supposed to be. For many stanzas together we may frequently read him with as much facility as we can the same number of lines in Shakespeare.

But although I cannot subscribe to Jonson's opinion concerning Spenser's language, I must confess that the following sentiments of that critic, concerning the use of old words in poetry, are admirable. " Words borrowed of antiquity do lend a kind of majesty to style, and are not without their delight sometimes. For they have the authority of yeares, and out of their intermission

do lend a kind of grace-like newnesse. But the eldest of the present, and the newest of the past language is the best*," But Jonson has literally translated the latter part of the paragraph, from Quintilian, without acknowledgment. "Ergo ut novorum optima erunt maxime vetera, ita veterum maxime nova†."

I conclude this Section with a passage from the nervous, poetical, and witty Satires of Bishop Hall; who having censured the petty poets of his age for their various corruptions and licentious abuses of the English language, makes this compliment to Spenser.

But lett no rebel satyr dare traduce
Th' eternall Legends of thy Faerie Muse,
Renowned Spenser ! whom no earthly wight
Dares once to emulate, much less despight.

* Discoveries.

† Instit. Or. l. 1. cap. 6.

Salust of France, and Tuscan Ariost!
 Yield up the lawrel-girland ye have lost:
 And lett all others willows wear with mee,
 Or lett their undeserving temples bared bee*.

* B. 1. s. 4. These satires [the three first books] were first printed by T. Creed, for R. Dexter, Lond. 1597. 12mo. The three last books appeared in an edition, entitled, "Virgidemiarum, The three last bookes of byting Satyres, Anon. Lond. printed by R. Bradocke, for R. Dexter, &c. 1598." 12mo. It begins with sat. 1. of lib. 4. The next edition [of the whole] is, "Virgidemiarum, The three last [in reality all the six] bookes of the byting Satyres, corrected and amended, with some additions, by J. H. Lond. for R. Dexter, &c. 1599." 12mo. In a copy I have seen of this last edition, at the end are bound up, "Certaine worthe manuscript poems of great antiquitie, reserved long in the studie of a Northfolke Gentleman, now first published by J. S. Lond. R. D. 1597." 12mo. The poems are, "The stately Tragedy of Guiscard and Sismond." In two books, in the seven-lined stanza. It is Dryden's story, and seems about the age of Henry vii. "The Northern Mother's Blessing, written nine yeares before the death of G. Chaucer." "The Way to Thrift." They are dedicated to the worthiest poet Maister Ed. Spencerr.

SECT. V.

Of Spenser's Imitations from Chaucer.

IT has been before observed in general, that Spenser copied the language of Chaucer: and it is evident, that in many passages he has imitated Chaucer's sentiment. It is frequently true, that parallelists mistake *resemblances* for *thefts*. But this doctrine by no means affects the instances which I shall give, in this section, of Spenser's imitations from Chaucer, and which I shall produce in the next, of the passages he has copied from Ariosto. Spenser is universally acknowledged to have been an attentive reader, and a professed admirer of both these poets.

His imitations from the former are most commonly literal, couched in the expressions of the original. What he has drawn from Ariosto are artificial fictions, which consisting of unnatural combinations, could not, on account of their singularity, be fallen upon by both poets accidentally, as natural appearances might be, which lie exposed and obvious to all, at all times. We may therefore safely pronounce the resemblances in the sections here mentioned, to have been intended.

But I proceed to collect some specimens of Spenser's imitations from Chaucer, both of language and sentiment.

B. i. c. i. s. viii.

Much can they praise the trees so straight and high,
 The sayling pine, the cedar proud and tall,
 The vine-prop elme, the poplar never dry,
 The builder oake, sole king of forests all,
 The aspine good for staves, the cypresse funeral.

The laurell, meed of mighty conquerours,
 And poets sage ; the firre that weepeth still,
 The willow, worne of forlorne paramours,
 The eugh, obedient to the bender's will,
 The birch for shafts, the sallow for the mill,
 The myrrhe sweet-bleeding in the bitter wound.
 The warlike beech, the ash for nothing ill,
 The fruitfull olive, and the platane round,
 The carver holme, the maple sildom inward sound.

Ovid*, Seneca†, Lucan‡, Statius§, and
 Claudian||, have all left us a description of
 trees ; but Spenser, in this before us, seems
 more immediately to have had his favourite
 Chaucer in his eye ; he has, however, much
 improved upon the brevity and simplicity of
 our ancient bard.

* Met. 10. 90.

† Œdip. 532.

‡ 3. 440.

§ Theb, 6. 98.

|| R. Proserp. 2. 107.—The

passages are alleged by Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Spenser's
 Poems, p. 4. 5.

'The builder oake, and eke the hardie ashe,
 The pillar elme, the coffir unto caraine,
 The boxe pipe-tree, holme to whips lashe,
 The sailing firre, the cipres death to plaine,
 The shooter ewe, the aspe for shaftes plaine,
 The olive of peace, and eke the dronken vine,
 The victor palme, the laurer to divine *.

In Chaucer's Complaint of the Blacke
 Knight we meet with another description of
 trees, from which Spenser seems to have col-
 lected and added one or two circumstances.

The mirre also that weepeth ever' of kinde:
 'The cedris hie, as upright as a line †.

Spenser, perhaps, in this minute and par-
 ticular enumeration of various trees, has in-
 curred less censure than some of the Roman
 authors mentioned above. In some of those,
 indeed, such a description will be found su-
 perfluous and impertinent; but, upon this

* The Assemblé of Fowles, v. 176. † Ver. 66.

occasion, it is highly consistent, and even expedient, that the poet should dwell, for some time, on the beauty of this grove, in describing it's variety of trees, as that circumstance tends to draw the red-cross knight and his companions farther and farther into the shade, till at length they are imperceptibly invited to the cave of error, which stood in the thickest part of it. This description is so far from being peurile, or ill-placed, that it serves to improve and illustrate the allegory. But notwithstanding this may be affirmed in vindication of Spenser, I am apt to think that the impropriety of introducing such a description would not have appeared a sufficient reason to our poet for not admitting it.

The reader will excuse my producing another passage from Chaucer, in which he ridicules, with no less humour than judgment, the particular detail of trees, and of the cir-

cumstances that followed upon their being felled, given us by one of the above-mentioned ancient poets. He is speaking of Arcite's funeral.

But how the fire was maken up on height,
 And eke the names, how all the trees hight,
 As oke, firre, beech, aspe, elder, elme, popelere,
 Willow, holme, plane, boxe, chesten, and laurere,
 Maple, thorne, beech, ewe, hasell, whipultree,
 How they were feld, shall not be told for me ;
 Ne how the gods runnen up and doune,
 Disherited of her habitatioun,
 In which they wonned in rest and pees,
 Nymphes, Faunies, Amadriades.
 Ne how the beasts ne how the birds all
 Fledden for feare, when the trees was fall*.

But a ridicule of this kind was still more proper, as the popular poems of his times often abounded with instances of prolix and needless numerations. Thus in the *Squyre of Lowe Degree* †, an old piece, perhaps coeval with Chaucer.

* Knight's tale, v. 2932.

† London, imprinted for W. Copland, 4to.

— — In the arbor was a tree
 A fayrer in the world might none bee;
 The tree was of cypresse
 The first tre that Jesu chase*.

* Alluding to the tradition that the cross was made of this wood. * Signature a, ii b.

From this passage, and another of the same sort in the same piece, an ingenious correspondent has taken occasion to consider Chaucer's Rime of Sir Thopas in a new light. I will transcribe his words. "The Rhyme of Sir Thopas was intended by Chaucer, as a kind of burlesque on the old ballad romances; many of which he quotes.

"Men speken of Romaunces of prise,
 Of Hornechild, and Ipotis,
 Of Bevis, and Sir Gie,
 Of Sir Libeaux, &c."

Most of these, at least such of them as I have seen, are in the very same metre with Sir Thopas, and were sung to the harp, as appears from your own quotation. (pag. 49. *supr.*) Now in these old romances nothing is so common as impertinent digressions, containing affected enumerations of trees, birds, &c. There is a specimen of the former in an old romance, intituled, *The Squyer of Lowe Degre*: where it is remarkable, that the author has reckoned the lily, the piany, the sother-wood, &c. as trees. With the same accuracy the pie, the popinjay,

The sother wood, and sycamoure,
The reed rose, and the lyly floure,

the sparrow, &c. are classed among the singing birds, in the lines which immediately follow the list of trees, viz.

On every braunche sat byrdes thre,
Singing with great melody,
The laverocke and the nightingale,
The ruddocke, the woodwale,
The pee, and the popinjaye,
The thrustle sung bothe night and daye,
The martyn and the wrenne also,
The swallowe whippinge too and fro,
The jaye jangled them amonge,
The larke began that mery songe,
The sparrowe spredde her on her spraye,
The mavis sange with her notes full gaye,
The nuthake with her notes newe,
The sterlynge, &c.
— — Sunge with notes clere,
In confortinge that Squyere.

From these lines we shall easily perceive the drift of Chaucer's humour in the following stanzas of Sir Thopas.

There springen herbes grete and smal,
The lycores and the setuall,
And many a clove gelofer,
And nutmeges to put in ale,
Whether it be newe or stale,
Or for to lie in cofer.

The box, the beache, and the larel trée :
 The date, also the damysé,
 The fylbyrdes hanging to the ground,
 The fylg tree, and the maple round ;
 And other tres ther was mane ane ;
 The piany, the popler, and the plane.
 The broad branches all aboute,
 Within the arbour and withoute.

Afterwards follows a catalogue of birds in the same manner. But Chaucer is often guilty of the fault he here condemns.

B. i. c. xii. s. xiv.

The poet is speaking of the magnificent

The birdes singen, it is no naie,
 The sperhawke, and the popinjaye,
 That joye it was to here ;
 The throstell eke made his laye,
 The wood-cocke upon the spraye,
 She song full loud and clere.

These lines are transcribed from an old black letter edition of Chaucer, which wants the title: but in Speght's and Urry's editions, they are somewhat different; the latter having substituted wood-larke instead of wood-cock, not considering that Chaucer is jocose."

feasting after the red-crosse knight had conquered the dragon.

What needs me tell their feast, and goodly guise,
 In which was nothing riotous, nor vaine ?
 What needs of dainty dishes to devise,
 Of comely services, or courtly traine ?
 My narrow leaves cannot in them containe,
 The large discourse of royal princes state.

To this I shall beg leave to subjoin another passage of the same kind ; in which he is describing the wedding of Florimel.

To tell the glory of the feast that day,
 The goodly service, the devisfull sights,
 The bridegroomes state, the brides most rich array,
 The pride of ladies, and the worth of knights,
 The royall banquetts, and the rare delights,
 Were worke fit for an herauld *, not for me.

5. 3. 3.

* Many of the historical romances, of the middle age were written by heralds. Vid. Le Pere Menestrier, *Chevalerie ancienne*, &c. Paris, 12mo. 1683, ch. v. pag. 225. In Worcester-college library, at Oxford, there

"After this indirect, but comprehensive manner, Chaucer expresses the pomp of Cambuscan's feast.

Of which shall I tell all the array,
Then would it occupie a sommer's day;
And eke it needeth not to devise
At every course the order of service.
I wol not tellen as now, of her strange sewes,
Ne of her swans, ne of her heronsewes.

is a beautiful manuscript on vellum, written in short French verse, describing the achievements of Edward the Black Prince. It was composed by the Prince's herald, who attended him close by his person, in all his wars, as was the custom. This was the Chandois-herald, and he is frequently mentioned in Froissart. The Copy is very fairly written, the names of the Englishmen rightly spelled, the chronology exact, and the epitaph of the Black Prince, which closes the poem, is the same as the Prince ordered in his will. It is an oblong octavo, and formerly belonged to Sir William Le Neve, Clarencieux-herald. I have transcribed the prose argument to the first part. "Cy commence une partie de la vie et des faites d'armes d'une tresnoble Prince de Gaules et d'Aquitaine qu'avoit au noun Edward, l'eigne filitz au roy Edward tierce queux dieux assoile."

Eke in that land, as tellen knights old,
 There is some meat that is full dainty hold,
 That in this lond men retch of it but small :
 There is no man that may reporten all *.

Thus also, when Lady Custance is married
 to the Sowdan of Surrie, or Syria.

What shuld I tellen of the rialte
 Of that wedding ? or which course goth beforne ?
 Who blowith in a trompe, or in a horne † ?

In these passages it is very evident, that Chaucer intended a burlesque upon the tedious and elaborate descriptions of such unimportant circumstances, so frequent in books of chivalry. In the last verse the burlesque is very strong.

It should seem that in some of the old romances, the names of trumpeters in the lists

* Squier's tale, v. 83.

The man of lawe's tale, v. 704.

were sometimes mentioned. Chaucer places
in the House of Fame,

— — All that usid Clarion
In Casteloigne and Arragon,
That in their timis famous were*.

B. i. c. xii. s. xxiv.

He is speaking of a grand assembly, which
is held in the hall of the palace of Una's
father.

With flying speed, and seeming great pretence,
Came running in, much like a man dismaid,
A messenger with letters, which his message said.

xxv.

All in the open hall amazed stood,
At suddenesse of that unwarie sight,
And wondred at his breathlesse hastie mood;
But he for nought would stay his passage right,
Till fast before the king he did alight,
Where falling flat great humblesse he did make,
And kist the ground whereon his foot was pight.

* 3. 157.

He seems to have copied this surprise, occasioned in the hall by the sudden and unexpected entrance of a messenger, together with some of the concomitant circumstances, from a similar but more alarming surprise in Chaucer, which happened at Cambuscan's birth-day festival.

And so befell, that aftir the third course,
While that the King sat thus in his noblay,
Herk'ning his minstrelis their thingis play,
Beforn him at his bord deliciously ;
In at the halle dore full sodeinly
There came a knight upon a stede of brass ;
And in his hond, &c. &c.

* * * * *

And up he rideth to the hie bord ;
In all the hall ne was there spoke a word,
For marveile of this knight, him to behold
Full besily they waiten yong, and old.
This straunge knight, &c.

* * * * *

Salved the King and Quene, and lordis all,
By ordir, as they sittin in the hall,
With so hie reverence and obeisaunce.
As well in speche, as in countinaunce,
That, &c. &c.

* * * * *

And aftir this, befor the hie bord,
He with a manly voice saide his message *.

These sudden entrances of strange and unexpected personages, when feasts were magnificently celebrated in great halls, in the ages of chivalry, seem to have been no uncommon incident; either for diversion of the guests, or exhibiting complaints, or increase of the solemnity. Stowe has recorded an instance of this sort.

“ In the yeare 1316, Edward II. did solemnize his feast of Pentecost, at Westminster, in the great hall, where sitting royally at the table, with his peares about him, there entred a woman adorned like a minstrell, sitting on a great horse trapped as minstrelles then used, who rode round about the tables, shewing pastime, and at length came up to

* Squier's tale, v. 96.

the king's table, and laide before him a letter, and forthwith turning her horse, saluted every one, and departed. The letters being opened, had these contents: Our soveraigne lord the king hath nothing courteously respected his knights, that in his father's time, &c*." The ceremony of our champion at the coronation, the only genuine remainder of chivalry subsisting in modern times, is much in the spirit of this custom.

B. ii. c. xii. s. li.

Thereto the heavens alwaies joviall
 Lookt on them lovely, still in stedfast state,
 Ne suffer'd storme, nor frost on them to fall,
 Their tender buds or leaves to violate,
 Nor scorching heat, nor cold intemperate,
 T'afflict the creatures which therein did dwell;
 But the milde aire with season moderate,
 Gently attemptred and dispos'd so well,
 That still it breathed forth sweet spirit and wholesome
 smell.

* Stowe's Survey of London, pag. 387. ed. 1599.

Chaucer in the Assemble of Fowles.

The air of the place so attempre was,
 That nether was ther grevance of hot ne cold,
 There was eke every holesome spice and gras,
 Ne no man may there waxe sicke ne olde *.

As a proof of the imitation, it may be observed, that Spenser has not only here borrowed some of Chaucer's thoughts, but some of his words. He might, nevertheless, have some passages in the † classics in his eye, cited by Dr. Jortin†; particularly a beautiful description in Lucretius.

B. iii. c. ii. s. xix.

The poet, among other rare qualities of Merlin's wonderous mirrour, mentions the following,

* Ver. 204.

† Claudian. N. Hon. 'et Mar. v. 51. Lucret. 3. v. 18. Hom. Odyss. 6. v. 42. Sidon. Car. 2 v. 407.

‡ Remarks, p. 74. 75.

Whatever foe had wrought, or friend had fayn'd
Therein discovered was. — —

And afterwards, st. 21.

Such was the glassie globe that Merlin made,
And gave unto King * Ryence for his guard,
That never foes his kingdom might invade,
But he it knew at home, before he hard
Tidings thereof, and so them still debard.
It was a famous present for a prince,
And worthy worke of infinite reward,
That treasons could betray, and foes convince.

It is manifest that Spenser drew the idea
of this mirrour from that which is presented
by the strange knight to Cambuscan, in
Chaucer.

This mirrour eke, which I have in my hond,
Hath soche a might, that men may in it se
Whan there shall fall any adversitie
Unto your reigne, or to yourself also,
And opin se who is your frend or fo.

* A king often mentioned in Morte Arthur.

And over all, if any lady bright
 Hath set her hert on any manir wight,
 If he be false she shall the tresoun se,
 His newe love, and all his subtilte,
 So opynly, that there shall nothing hide *.

Spenser likewise feigns, that his mirror was of service in the purposes of love; and as such it is consulted by Britomartis, but upon an occasion different from that which is here mentioned by Chaucer. She looks in it with a design to discover her destined husband.

Whom fortune for her husband would allott.

st. 23.

As the uses of this mirror were of so important a nature, Spenser ought not to have first mentioned it to us by that light appellation, Venus' Looking Glass; where he is speaking of Britomart's love for Arthegall,

* Squier's tale. v. 153.

Whose image she had seen in Venus' looking glass.

3. 1. 8.

B. iii. c. ix. s. xxviii.

She sent at him one fire dart, whose hed
Empoysned was with privie lust, and jelous dred.

xxix.

Hee from that deadly throwe made no defence,
But to the wound his weake heart opened wide,
The wicked engine thro' false influence
Past through his eyes, and secretly did glyde,
Into his hart, which it did sorely gryde.

Which seem to resemble these of Chaucer.
He is speaking of Cupid.

He took an arrow full sharpely whet,
And in his bowe when it was sett,
He streight up to his eare drough
The strong bowe that was so tough,
And shot at me so wonder smert,
That through mine eye unto mine hert
The takell smote, and deep it went*.

* Rom. of Rose, v. 1723.

The thought of the heart being wounded
through the eye occurs again in Chaucer.

So that this arrow anone right
Throughout eye, as it was found,
Into mine hert hath made a wound *.

Thus also Palamon speaks, after he had seen
Emely.

But I was hurt right now through mine eie
Into mine hert †. — — —

The thought likewise occurs again, in our
poet's second Hymne in honour of Beautie.

Hath white and red in it such wondrous powre
'That it can pierce through th'eyes unto the hart †

And in the first Hymn on the same subject.
Butler has founded a pleasant image on this
thought.

* Rom. of Rose, v. 1778. † Knight's tale, v. 1098.

Love is a burglarer, a felon,
 That at the windore-eye doth steale in
 To rob the heart, and with his prey
 Steals out again another way *.

B. iv. c. ii. s. xxxii.

Whylome, as antique stories tellen us,
 Those two, &c.

* * * * *

Though now their acts be no where to be found,
 As that renowned poet them compiled,
 With warlike numbers, and heroick sound,
 Dan Chaucer, well of English undefiled,
 On fame's eternal bead-roll worthy to be filed.

The Squier's Tale of Chaucer being imperfect†, our poet thus introduces his story of the battle of the three brethren for Canace; which he builds upon the following hint of Chaucer.

* Hudib. par. 2. cant. 1. 417.

† Not unfinished, for a very good reason offered by the judicious Mr. Upton, who says, " I hardly think that a story promising so fair in the beginning, should be left half-told." Letter to G. West, Esq. p. 10.

And after woll I speke of Camballo,
 That fought in listis with the brethren two;
 For Canace, er that they might her winn.

But with these lines the story breaks off.

Mr. Upton * calls this addition of Spenser to Chaucer's fragment a completion of the Squier's Tale; but it is certainly nothing more than a completion of one part or division of Chaucer's poem. For, besides what Chaucer proposed to speak of in the verses above-quoted concerning the contest for Canace, he intended likewise to tell us,

How that his Falcon got her love againe,
 Repentant, as the story telleth us,
 By mediation of Camballus †

Also,

First woll I tell you of king Cambuscan
 That in his time many a cite wan,

* Ubi supr. p. 10.

† Squier's tale. v. 674.

How that he wan Thedora to his wife ;
 And after woll I speke of Algarsife,
 For whom full oft in grete peril he was,
 Ne had ben holpin, but by th' hors of bras *.

It is no less amusing to the imagination to bewilder itself in various conjectures, concerning the expedients by which these promised events were brought about, and to indulge the disquisitions of fancy, about the many romantic miracles that must have been effected by this wonderful steed, than it is disagreeable to reflect that Chaucer's description of such matters is entirely lost. It appears that Milton was particularly fond of this poem ; and that he was not a little desirous of knowing the remainder and end of a story which already disclosed so many beauties. In *Il Penseroso* he invokes Melancholy to

* Squier's tale, v. 681.

— Call up him who left half-told
The story of Cambuscan bold *.

But for what reason are we to suppose that he desired this fabler to be called-up? Was it not for this purpose, that Chaucer might finish that part of the half-told tale which yet remained untold? As he before requests, that Orpheus might be summoned to sing,

Such notes as warbled to the string,
Drew iron tears down Pluto's cheek †:

so he does not here desire that Chaucer should be called up for nothing; but that the author of this imperfect tale of Cambuscan, should likewise tell,

Of Camball and of Algarsife,
And who had Canace to wife.
That own'd the virtuous ring of glass,
And of the wondrous horse of brass,
On which the Tartar king did ride ‡.

* Ver. 109. Ibid. v. 105. † Ibid. v. 111.

Circumstances and incidents, which are not in the half-told story which Chaucer has left us, but which are only proposed to be told in Chaucer's verses above-cited, and were the subject of the lamented sequel.

Lydgate, in his *Temple of Glas*, seems to speak as if he had seen a completed copy of this tale.

And uppermore men depeinten might see,
 How, with her ring, goodly Canace,
 Of everie fowle the leden and the song
 Could understand, as she hem walkt among :
 And how her brother so often holpen was
 In his mischefe, by the stede of bras.

That part of the story which is hinted at in the two last lines is lost; which, however, might have been remaining in the age of Lydgate.

In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, there is a completion of this tale, by John Lane,

people, and conquered all nations. The eldest son Elfin governed America, and next to him, named Elfinan, founded the city of Cleopolis, which was enclosed with a gold wall by Elfiline. His son Elfine overcame the Gobbelines; but of all Fairies Elfant was the most renowned, who built Panthea of crystal. To these succeeded Elfar, who slew the brethren-giants; and to him Elfinor, who built a bridge of glass over the sea, the sound of which was like thunder. At length Elfant ruled the Fairy Land with much wisdom and highly advanced its power and honor. He left two sons, the eldest of which, Elferon, died a premature death, his place being supplied by the mighty Oberon, a prince whose "wide memorial" still remains, and who dying, left Tanaquil to succeed him. By will, she being also called Glorian, Gloriana.

In the story of Enfinel, who overcame the

in manuscript. The title of it is as follows, "Chaucer's Piller; being his master-piece, called the Squier's Tale; which hath binn given for lost for almost theese three hundred yeares, but now found out, and brought to light, by John Lane, 1630*." I conceived great expectations of this manuscript, on reading the following passage in Philips.— "John Lane, a fine old Queen Elizabeth's gentleman, who was living within my remembrance, and whose several poems, had they not had the ill luck to remain unpublished, when much better meriting than many that are in print, might possibly have gained him a name not inferior (if not equal) to Drayton, and others of the next rank to Spenser; but they are all to be produced in manuscript, namely, his Poetical Vision, his Alarm to Poets, his Twelve Months, his Guy of Warwick, (an heroic poem, at least

* It is numbered in the catalogue, and in the first leaf, 6937. On the back, 53. quarto. Codd. Ashmol.

as much as many others that are so entitled), and lastly, his Supplement to Chaucer's Squier's Tale*." But I was greatly disappointed; for, Lane's performance, upon perusal, proved to be not only an inartificial imitation of Chaucer's manner, but a weak effort of invention. There is a more ancient manuscript copy of Lane's Addition to the Squier's Tale, in the library of New-College, at Oxford, it is, however, no rare manuscript.

I cannot omit this opportunity of expressing equal regret for the loss of great part of a noble old Scottish poem, entitled, Hardyknute; which exhibits a striking representation of our ancient martial manners, that prevailed, before alterations in government, and the conveniencies of civilized life, had introduced the general uniformities

* Theat. Poet. Mod. Poets, pag. 112.

of fashion; and established that security,
which necessarily excludes hazardous at-
tempts and glorious dangers, so suitable to
the character and genius of the heroic
muse*.

B. iv. c. ii. s. xxxiii.

But wicked Time, that all good thoughts doth waste,
And workes of noblest wits to nought outweare,
That famous monument has quite defac'd;

* * * * *

O cursed Elde! the canker-worme of writs;
How may these rimes (so rude, as doth appear)
Hope to endure, sith workes of heavenly wits
Are quite devour'd, and brought to nought by little bits!

* Since this was written, I have been assured, upon good authority, that Hardyknute is a modern piece. It was written by Mrs. — Halkett, aunt to Sir Peter Halkett, who was killed in America, with General Braddocke, 1755. The late Lord President Forbes was in the secret, and used to laugh at the deception of the world. It was written near fifty years ago, and never extended further than at present. But I am apt to think that the first stanza is old, and gave the hint for writing the rest.

Thus Chaucer.

This old storie in Latine, which I finde
Of Queen Annelida, and false Arcite,
That Elde, which all thingis can frete and bite,
(And it hath freten many a noble storie)
Hath nigh devourid out of her metyorie*.

B. vi. c. ix. s. v.

He chaunc't to spy a sort of shepheard groomes
Playing on pipes, and caroling apace,
The whilès their beasts, there in the budded broomes,
Beside them fed. — — — —

These verses are a distant imitation of
Chaucer. They are more immediately an
imitation of himself in the Eclogues.

So loytering live you little heard-groomes,
Keeping your beasts in the budded broomes:
* * * * *
And crowing in pipes made of grene corne†.

* Of Q. Annelid. and false Arcite, v. 10.

† Februarie.

which are apparently an immediate imitation
of these in Chaucer.

And many a floite, and litlyng horne,
And pipis made of grene corne.
As have these little herdegromes,
That keepen besties in the bromes *.

The word herd-groome occurs again in
August.

— — Yonder herd-groome and none other.

And again in the poem before us.

— — That they were poore heard-groomes.
6. 11. 39.

B. vii. c. vii. s. v.

Then forth issew'd (great goddesse) dame Nature,
With goodly port, and gracious majesty,
Being far greater, and more tall of stature,
Than any of the gods, or powers on hic.

* House of Fame, v. 133.

Afterwards, speaking of her face, st. 6.

— — — It so beauteous was,
And round about such beames of splendor threw,
That it the sunne a thousand times did pass,
Ne could be seene, but like an image in a glass.

vii.

That well may seemen true : for well I weene
That this same day, when she on Arlo sat,
Her garment was so bright, and wondrous sheene,
That my fraile wit cannot devize to what
It to compare, &c.

viii.

In a fair plaine, upon an equall hill,
She placed was in a pavilion ;
Not such as craftes-men by their idle skill,
Are wont for princes state to fashion ;
But th' earth herself of her own motion,
Out of her fruitfull bosome made to grow
Most dainty trees, that shooting up anon
Did seem to bowe their bloosming heads full lowe ;
Fit homage unto her, and like a throne did shew.

ix.

So hard it is for any living wight,
All her array, and vestiments to tell,
That old Dan Geffrey (in whose gentle spright
The pure well-head of pocsie did dwell)

In his Fowles Parley durst not with it mell,
 But it transfer'd to Alane, who, he thought,
 Had in his * plaint of kindes describ'd it well.

* * * * *

The ninth stanza is no obscure hint, that our poet had been consulting Chaucer's Assembly of Fowles for this description of Nature. But Spenser has given many new and delicate touches to Chaucer's rough sketch, as will appear upon comparison.

Tho' was I ware, where there ysate a quene,
 That as of light the sommer sonne shene
 Passith the sterre, right so ovir mesure,
 She fairer was than any other cature.
 And in a launde, upon a hill of floures,
 Was set this quene, this noble goddesse Nature,
 Of branchis were her hallis and her boures,
 Irought after her craft and her mesure.

* * * * *

And right as Alaine in the plaint of kinde
 Deviseth Nature of soche araie and face,
 In such araie men mighten her there finde †.

* Planctus Naturæ.

† Assemblie of Fowles, v. 298.

B. xvii. c. viii. s. xlvi.

But Life was like a faire young lusty boy,
Such as they faine Dan Cupid to have beene,
Full of delightfull health, and lively joy,
Deckt all with flowres, and wings of gold fit to employ.

Chaucer thus represents Cupid.

But of his robe to devise
I dread encumbred for to be ;
For not yclad in silk was he
But all in floures, and flourettes*.

But the ancients have left us no authority
for such a representation of Cupid. Our
author, st. 34. above, gives him a green
vest.

And Cupid-selfe about her fluttred all in greene.

Which is equally unwarrantable. Though
Catullus has given him a yellow vest.

Quam circumcursans huc illuc sæpe Cupido,
Fulgebat crocina candidus in tunica†.

* Romaunt of the Rose. v. 890.

† Ad Manlium.

Where Scaliger remarks from Julius Pollux, that Sappho attributes a purple vest to this deity ; but according to the general sense in which πορφυρεῖον is sometimes used, she may probably mean a rich mantle.

B. vii. c. viii. s. xl.

Next was November: he full grosse and fat,
As fed with lard, and that right well might seeme,
For he had been a fatting hogs of late.

* * * * *

xli.

And after him came next the chill December ;
Yet he thro' merry feasting which he made,
And great bonfires, did not the cold remember,
His Saviour's birth his mind so much did glad.

* * * * *

And in his hand a broad deep boawle he beares,
Of which he freely drinks an health to all his peeres.

In describing these figures, Spenser seems to have remembered some circumstances in Chaucer's picture of Janus, or January.

Janus sit by the fire with double berde,
 And drinketh of his bugle horne the wine ;
 Before him stant brawn of the tuskid swine,
 And * nowil singeth every lustie man †.

I shall now lay before the reader some instances of phrases and words, which Spenser has adopted from Chaucer.

B. i. Introduction, st. iii.

— — With you bring triumphant Mart.

We have no reason to imagine, that Spenser here arbitrarily uses Mart instead of Mars, for the convenience of rhyme, since he had the authority of Chaucer.

All esily now for the love of Marte ‡

Again,

O cruil god of deth, despiteous Marte §.

* i. e. Christmas.

† Frankelein's tale, v. 2808.

‡ Tr. and Cr. b. 2. v. 988.

§ Ibid. b. 2. v. 435.

We find it likewise in other places. Chaucer sometimes uses Mart for War.

B. i. c. i. s. xxxiv.

And well could file his tongue as smooth as glass.

So Chaucer.

For wele he wiste when the song was songe,
He must preche, and well afile his tonge *.

Again,

This Pandarus gan new his tong afile †.

The same metaphor occurs again in our author.

His practick wit, and his fair filed tongue.

2. 1. 3.

— — — — However, sir, ye file

Your courteous tongue his praises to compile.

3. 2. 12.

* Prol. 713.

† Tr. and Cr. b. 1. v. 1681,

It is found in Skelton's Boke of Colin Cloute.

But they their tongues did file
And make a pleasaunte style.

And in other passages of the same author.

In Colin Clout's Come Home Againe, it is joined with its literal meaning.

A filed tongue, furnish'd with termes of art.

It seems at length to have grown into a common phrase. Thus Holofernes in Shakespeare: "His humour is lofty; his discourse peremptory, his tongue filed*."

And Jonson.

For he's both noble, lovely, young,
And for the troubled client files his tongue:
Child of a thousand arts, &c. †.

Love's Labour Lost, act i. sc. 1.

† Hor. b. iv. ode 1.

VOL. I.

Q

B. i. c. iv. s. xl.

Reboubted battaile ready to darraine.

Darraine is often used by Chaucer.

That everich should an hundred knights bring
The battle to darrain *.

Full privily two harneis had he dight
Both sufficient and mete to darraine
The battail in the field, betwixt them twaine †.

The word seems to be derived from the French arranger ; so that to darraine battle is to set the battle in array. Our poet has used arranged, from arranger, and applied it to battle more than once.

So both to battel fierce arranged are.

1. 2. 36.

— — — Arrang'd in battle new.

1. 6. 38.

Chaucer, in another place, uses darraine in a sense not agreeable to its genuine signification.

* Knight's tale, v. 2098.

† Ibid. v. 1632.

Everich of you shall bring an hundred knights

* * * * *

Alredy to darrain here by battaile*.

Where it should imply, to determine.

This word being a Chaucerism, our author
has very remarkably affected the use of it, viz.

— — Sad battaile to darraine.

1. 7. 11.

— — — — To darraine

A triple warre. — — — —

2. 2. 26.

— — Six knights that did darraine

Fierce battaile against one. — —

3. 1. 20.

— — New battaile to darraine.

4. 4. 26.

— — New battaile to darraine.

4. 5. 24.

And dreadfull battle 'twixt them do darraine.

5. 2. 15.

In which they two the combat might darraine.

6. 12. 9.

— Those giants, which did war darraine

Against the heavens. — — —

6. 7. 41.

* Knight's tale, v. 1583.

We have here an instance in which the word is used in a more vague sense,

— — How best he might darraine
That enterprize. — — —

4. 9. 4.

But we are told, in the glossary to Chaucer*, that this word, among other senses, signifies to dare, to attempt. Thus, by a gradual detortion, and by an imperceptible progression from one kindred sense to another, words at length attain a meaning entirely foreign to their original etymology.

Spenser's frequent use of darraine seems to have somewhat familiarised it in Queen Elizabeth's age. We meet with it in Shakespeare, who probably drew it from our author.

Darraign your battle; they are near at hand †

B. i. c. vii. s. xxix.

His glitterand armor shined far away.

* Urry's Edit.

† Third Part of Hen. vi. act 2. s. 1.

Spenser thus affectedly spells the participle glittering, in imitation of Chaucer.

So in the Plowman's Tale,

That high on horse willeth ride
In glitterande gold, of great array *,

And in the same poem,

With glitterande gold as green as gall †.

Glitterand is very frequently used by our author.

Soone as those glitterand armes he did espy.
2. 7. 42.

Eftsoones himselfe in glitterande arms he dight.
2. 11. 17.

Her glorious glitterand light doth all mens eyes
amaze.
1. 4. 16.

We meet with it likewise in the Eclogues.

Ygirt with bells of glitterand gold ‡.

* Ver. 2075.

† Ver. 2103.

‡ July.

Many of Chaucer's active participles are thus terminated, viz. sittande, smertande, laughande, &c. for sitting, smarting, laughing. We meet with this termination of the active participle very frequently in the ancient Scotch poets.

B. i. c. vii. s. xiv.

— — — — — Do him to die.

Chaucer,

— — — — — And doen to die
These losengeours, with her flatterie*.

The instances of this expression are innumerable, both in Chaucer and in our author. This is, *Je lui fèrai mourir*, Fr. *farollo morire*, Ital.

B. ii. c. ii. s. xxii.

And suffred not their blowes to bite him nere.

* Rom. Rose, v. 1061.

Again,

— His rebuke which bit her neare.

6. 11. 64.

In Mother Hubbard's Tale.

— — Spight bites neare.

In Shakespeare,

— — — Thou bitter sky,
Thou dost not bite so nigh *.

That is to pierce to the quick.

Bite is frequently used in the sense, to
pierce, or wound, in Chaucer.

Ne short sword to stick with point biting
No man ne draw †. — —

And made his sword deep in his flesh ybite ‡.

The jealous strokes on their helmes bite §.

As You Like It. act ii. s. 10.

Ibid. 2642.

† Knight's Tale, 2548.

§ Ibid. 2636.

Speaking of a sword, afterwards,

Throughout his armure it will kerve and bite.

But in his sleve he gan to thring
A rasour sharpe and well-biting*.

Nor are instances of this word, used simply
for wound or pierce, less frequent in Spenser, viz.

The cruell steele so greedily doth bite
In tender flesh. — —

1. 5. 9.

His biting sword, and his devouring speare.

1. 7. 48.

That first did teach the cursed steele to bite
In his own flesh. — —

2. 6. 32.

The pointed steele — —
His harder hide would neither pearce nor bite.

1. 11. 16.

— The sharpe steele arriving forcibly
On his broad shield, bit not. —

2. 5. 4.

* Rom. Rose, v. 7319.

A stroke,

And glauncing downe, would not his owner bite.

2. 8. 38.

And pearced to the skin, but bit not more.

2. 8. 44.

A dart,

And had not powre in his soft flesh to bite.

3. 5. 19.

Till on her horses hinder parts it fell,
Where biting deep, so deadly it imprest.

4. 6. 13.

That glauncing on her shoulder-plate it bit
Unto the bone. — —

5. 7. 33.

But byting deepe therein. — 6. 12. 21.

i. e. into his shield.

The tempred steele did not into his braine-pan bite.

6. 6. 30.

Shakespeare has used bite, simply, for wound. “ Nym. I should have borne the humoured letter to her: but I have a

sword, and it shall bite, upon my necessity*." The meaning is, I have a sword, and it shall wound when my need or necessity requires. This interpretation of bite, from Chaucer and Spenser, which Theobald seems to have been unacquainted with, plainly shews the propriety of placing a comma after bite, which the learned Bishop of Gloucester, [Dr. Warburton] has done with his usual sagacity.

B. ii. c. iv. s. xxiv.

Saying, he now had boulded all the floure.

That is, he had searched the matter to the bottom. This form is founded upon an old proverb in Chaucer,

But I ne cannot bould it to the brenne,
As can that holy doctour Saint Austen †.

* Merry Wives of Windsor, act 2. sc. 1.

† Nonne's Priest's Tale, 1355.

B. ii. c. vi. s. xliii.

Harrow now out, and weal-away, he cryde.

So Chaucer,

And gan to cry harrow and weal-away*.

Haro is a form of exclamation anciently used in Normandy to call for help, or to raise the Hue and Cry†. We find it again in our author,

Harrow the flames which me consume. —

2. 6. 49.

Again,

— — Harrow, and weal-away!

After so wicked deed, &c. — —

2. 8. 46.

It occurs often in Chaucer, and is, I think, always used as an exclamation of grief; but there are some passages in an old Mystery

* Reve's Tale, 964.

† Glossary to Urry's edit.

printed at Paris, 1541, where it is applied as a term of alarm, according to it's original usage. Lucifer is introduced summoning the devils.

Dyables meschans, &c.

* * * * *

Viendrez vous point a mes cris, et aboys,

* * * * *

Haro, Haro, nul de vous je ne veoy's ?

And in another place, where he particularly addresses Belial.

Haro, Haro, approche toy grand dyable,

Approche toy notayre mal fiable,

Fier Belial, &c.

It is observable, that the permission of the Clameur de Haro is to this day specified, among that of other officers, in the instrument of Licence prefixed to books printed in France.

B. iii. c. i. s. lxiv.

To stir up strife, and troublous conteck broche.

Spenser here, when he might have used
contest, chuses rather Chaucer's obsolete
term conteck.

Thus in the Knight's Tale.

Conteke with bloody knyves, and sharpe menace*.

Again,

Of conteke and of whelpis gret and light†.

Our poet had used it before in September.

But kindle coales of contecke and ire,
Wherewith they sett all the world on fire.

In May,

So contecke soon by contord might be ended.

Contecke occurs often in Gascoigne.

B. iii. c. ii. s. v.

— — Like a pined ghost. — —

So likewise,

That like a pined ghost he soon appears.

4. 7. 41.

**We find forpyned ghost in Chaucer, which
is the same as pyned ghost.**

He was not pale as a forpyned ghost *.

B. iii. c. vi. s. vi.

**But wondrously they were begot and bred,
Through influence of th' heavens chearfull ray ;
As it in antique books is mentioned.**

**These introductions give authority to a
fictitious story. Thus the tale of Canace is
ushered in,**

Whylom as antique stories tellen us.

4. 2. 32.

**And, in another place, he refers to history
for a sanction to his invention,**

As ye may else-where read that ruefull history.

3. 6. 53.

* Prolog. v. 205.

Chaucer frequently makes use of these forms.

He thus begins the Knight's Tale.

Whylom as olde storis tellin us.

And again, in the same Tale,

— — — As old books us saine,
That all this storie tellen more plaine *.

And afterwards,

— — — As men may behold
In Stace of Thebes, and these bookes old †.

The Siege of Thebes, and the Destruction of Troy, were the two favourite classical stories of the dark ages. The characters and incidents of these they were mixing perpetually with their romances. Thus, in Chaucer's Palamon and Arcite, a tournament is celebrated before Theseus. Sir Palomydes, one of the knights of Arthur's round table,

* Knight's Tale, v. 1466.

† Ibid. v. 2295.

is only a corruption from Palamedes, a famous Grecian leader. Chaucer * mentions Sir Tristram with Achilles. He also joins Virgil's trumpeter Misenus with those famous martial musicians of the Turney, who "usid the clarion" in the many celebrated feats of chivalry performed in Catalonia and Arragon †. Perceforest, in his romance, says, "Si j' avois autant de possessions comme avoit le roi Alexandre, et de sens comme le sage Solomon, et de chevaliere comme eut le preux Hector de Troye, &c. ‡. But examples are innumerable. The story of Troy they first got from Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis; for Dante never had read Homer, and Boccace was the first who introduced him into Italy. In the library of Glastonbury Abbey, A. D. 1248, we find a

* Assem. of Fowles, 290.

† House of Fame, 3. 153.

‡ Perceforest, tom. ii. fol. 121. versa. col. 1. 2.

book, entitled, *Excidium Trojæ* *. But much earlier than this, in an age of grosser ignorance, so popular and respectable was the story of Troy, that Witlafius, a king of the West-Saxons, A. D. 833. grants in his charter, among other things, to the church of Croyland-abbey, his robe of tissue, on which was embroidered the Destruction of Troy. This was to be hung against the walls of the choir, on the day of his anniversary †.

The story of the golden fleece was likewise held in high reverence, and frequently furnished heroes and heroines for their legends. Chaucer often mentions Duke Jason ‡.

* Hearn, *Catal. Johan. Glaston*, vol. ii. p. 435.

† *Rerum Anglic. Script. vet. Oxon.* 1684. tom. i. *Hist. Ingulphi*, p. 9.

‡ Skelton says, in the booke of *Philippe Sparrowe*, pag. 233. ed. 1738.

I can tell a greate peece,
Of the golden fleece,
How Jason it wan.

and Queen Medea. I have seen the *Historie of the Knight Jason*, by Gerard de Leew*, fol. Andewarp, [Antwerp] 1480. About the same time, Caxton printed *The Historie of Jason*; towchyng the conqueste of the golden fleece. This book was translated from the French of Raoul le Feure, chaplain to the famous Duke of Burgundy, who, in memory of Jason's expedition, but perhaps more immediately from the popularity of the story at that time, founded the order of the Golden Fleece, the first chapter of which was held, 1468. Caxton, in his Prologue, mentions a stately chamber, in the duke's castle at Hesdin in Artois, sumptuously adorned with paintings, perhaps with tapestry, of this story, and furnished moreover with a curious piece of machinery, by which the magical powers of Medea were represented in the sudden production of

* Who wrote also the *Chronycles of the reame of Englonde*, with their apperteignances.

snow, rain, lightning, and thunder. "Well wote I, says he, that the noble Duc Philippe, first founder of this said order, did doo make a chambre in the castell of Hesdyn, wherein was craftyly and curiously depeynted the conqueste of the Golden Fleece, by the said Jason. In which chambre I have been, and seen the sayd historie so depeynted; and in remembraunce of Medea, and her cunning and science, he had doo make in the sayd chambre, by subtyll engyne, that, when it he wold, it shulde seeme, that it lightned, and after, thondre, snowe, and rayne, and all within the sayd chambre, as aft times, and when it shulde please him, which was all made for his singuler plaisir." But afterwards, by the advice of John German, bishop of Nevers, first chancellor of this order, Jason's fleece was exchanged for Gideon's; and the story of the latter was wrought into rich hangings of gold and silver, which were remaining in the court of Brussels, when

Chiffletius published his account of this institution*.

Few stories of antiquity have more the cast of one of the old romances than this of Jason. An expedition of a new kind is made into a strange and distant country, attended with infinite dangers and difficulties. The king's daughter of the new country is an enchantress; she falls in love with the young prince, who is the chief adventurer. The prize which he seeks is guarded by brazen-footed bulls, who breathe fire; and by a hideous dragon, who never sleeps. The princess lends him the assistance of her charms and incantations to conquer these obstacles; she gives him possession of the prize, leaves her father's court, and follows the young prince into his native country. It should be observed, that these wonders subsisted in

* Breviarum Velleris aurei.

that part of the world from which, in after ages, we fetched all our romantic fictions. Homer has his giants, and other incidents of romance, scattered in different parts of the Iliad and Odyssey, particularly the latter: but such incidents are here found in the aggregate, and form a series of romantic adventures.

B. iii. c. vii. s. xlvii.

— The mightie Ollyphaunt that wrote
Great weeke to manie errant knights of yore.

The giant Ollyphant here mentioned, is probably the same which Sir Topas encounters in his expedition to the land of Fairy.

Till him there came a great gyaunt,
His name was called Sir Ollyphaunt*.

B. iii. c. viii. s. lvii.

Because I could not give her many a jane.

* Rime of Sir Topas, v. 3315.

So Chaucer,

Of Bruges were his hosin brown,
His robe was of Chekelatoun,
That cost many a jane*.

Many a jane, i. e. "much money." Skinner informs us, that jane is a coin of Genoa; and Speght, in his Glossary to Chaucer, interprets jane, half-pence of Janua, [Genoa] or galy-halfpence.

Chaucer sometimes uses it as a coin of little value; as,

Dear enough a jane†.

And in other places,

Stow has given us an account of these galy-halfpence at large. "In this lane, [Minchin] dwelled divers strangers, born of Genoa, and

* Rime of Sir Topas, 3242.

† Cl. of Oxenford's Tale, ver. 2020.

those partes; these were commonly called gallie men, as men that came up in the gallies, who brought up wines and other merchandizes, which they landed in Thamesstrete, at a place called galley-key: they had a certaine coyne of silver amongst themselves, which were half-pence of Genoa, and were called galley half-pence. These half-pence were forbidden in the thirteenth year of Henry IV. and again by parliament in the third of Henry V. by the name of half-pence of Genoa, forbidden to passe as unlawfull payment amongst the English subjects. Notwithstanding, in my youth, I have seen them passe currant, &c*," This passage will serve to illustrate Speght's interpretation of the word under consideration, which is at present obscure and unsatisfactory.

B. iii. c. ix. s. iii.

Then listen lordinges. — —

Chaucer often applies this introductory form in the *Canterbury Tales*. Thus, too, the old poem of *Sir Bevis of Southampton* begins.

Listen lordinges, and hold you still,
Of doutie men tell you I will.

And Robert Brunne in the same manner begins the Prologue to his *Chronicle* *.

Lordinges, that be now here,
If you will listen and lere,
All the story of Inglande.

This address to the lordinges, requesting their silence and attention, is a manifest indication that these ancient pieces were originally sung to the harp, or recited before grand assemblies, upon solemn occasions.

* Ed. Hearn, vol. i. p. 96.

B. iii. c. ix. s. xx.

Her golden lockes, that ware in tramels gay
 Upbouden, did themselves adowne display,
 And raught unto her heeles. —

So Chaucer,

Her tresses yellow, and long straughten,
 Unto her heeles downe they raughten *.

And in the same poem,

Her haire downe to her heeles went †.

Our author again expresses himself in the
 same manner, speaking of a robe.

— When she list, it raught
 Down to her lowest hcele. —

5. 3. 2.

Also,

— Her golden lockes that were upbound
 Still in a knott, unto her heeles downe traced.

4. 1. 13.

* Rom. Rose, v. 1021.

† Ibid. 1218.

This mention of golden hair puts me in mind of a correction which Mr. Upton has made in the following verse of Chaucer.

Her gilded heris with a golden thread
Iboundin were *

Mr. Upton † supposes that here is a transposition occasioned by the transcriber's haste, and that we should apply gilded to threde, and goldin to heris, viz.

Her goldin heris with a gilded threde
Iboundin were. — —

The alteration appears at first sight to be very just ; but it is perhaps unnecessary, if we consider that gilte, or gilded, is often used by Chaucer, and applied to hair.

Thus,

His gilt here was yecrounid with a son ‡

* Assemble of Fowles, v. 267.

† Letter to G. West, Esq. p. 35.

‡ Leg. of G. Women, v. 230.

And in the same-poem,

Hide Absolon thy gilte tressis clere *.

We have here gilded hair,

Dischevilid with her bright gildid here †.

B. iii. c. ix. s. xxxi.

————— ————— Thus was the ape
By their faire handling put into Malbecco's cape.

A proverb from Chaucer.

This cursed Chanon put in his hode an ape ‡

Again,

The *Manke* put in the marchants hode an ape §.

B. iii. c. x. s. xix.

To seek her endlong both by sea and land.

* Leg. of G. Women, v. 249.

† Ibid. v. 390.

‡ Host's Words, chan. r. v. 1510.

§ Host's Words, ship. 2948.

I do not remember that *endlong* occurs in any poet before Spenser, Chaucer excepted; nor in any of Spenser's contemporaries; so that probably our author drew it from his favourite bard, viz.

— — The red blood
Ran endlong the tree*.

Also,

Loke what daye that endlong to Britaine,
Ye remeve all these rockis stene by stene†.

And in other places.

Pope has revived this word with great propriety.

B. iii. c. x. s. xxxi.

Bigge looking, like a doutie douzepere.

Doseperis, in Chaucer, is from the French *les douze pairs*; the twelve peers of France, Some legendary governors of Rome are so

* Squier's Tale, v. 435. † Fran. Tale, v. 2532.

called in allusion to those of France, in these verses of the Marchant's Tale, or History of Beryn.

When it [Rome] was governed by the doseperis *.

Then Constantyne the third after these dosiperis †.

We find douze-piers in Caxton's Godfrey of Boloyne‡. It occurs likewise in Brunne's Chronicle, finished in 1338§.

The twelve duzperis of price ||.
Departid the land in twelve parties.

Again,

In France was twelve lord sers
That men cald duze pers.

* Ver. 44.

† Ver. 51.

‡ In the Proheme.

§ Langtoft's Chronicle, as improved and illustrated by R. Brunne, ed. T. Hearn, Oxon. 1725. ut supr.

|| Forte Legend. Paris.

In the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, they are called dozperes. In Jeffery of Monmouth, twelve consuls. In the old romance written by Gualter d'Avignon, les douze compagnons.

Assez de mal me fit votre oncle Ganilion,
Qui trahit en Espagne les douze compagnons *.

Cervantes supposes, that a romance entitled the Twelve Peers of France, written by Turpin, from which Boyardo borrowed many fictions, was discovered among others in Don Quixote's library†. The knight afterwards mistakes himself for the twelve peers, and the curate for Archbishop Turpin. "Truly, my lord archbishop, it is a great dishonour to us, that are called the twelve peers of France, to permit the knights of the court thus to bear away the glory of the tournament‡." I have seen a very an-

* Fauchet des Dignities, liv 2.

† Part 1.

‡ Ch. 6. ch. 7.

cient Spanish romance, in verse, entitled, "El verdàrero suceso de la famosa Battallo de Ronscevalles* ; con la Muerte de les Doze Peres de Francia." But I do not remember that douzepere is used in the singular number, in our author's sense, except in Skelton.

This daungerous dowsipere †.

A late French writer, in a Memoir on the Origin of Chivalry and Romances‡, endeavours to prove, that the knights of Arthur's round table were feigned in imitation of Charlemagne's twelve peers§ ; and that he

* The ballad of Ronscevalles is a common song in Spain.

† Edit. 1736. pag. 16.

‡ Sur l'Origine de l'ancienne Chevalerie, &c. Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscript. &c. tom. 23. pag. 236. a Paris, 1756. 4to.

§ Many writers attribute these twelve peers to our Arthur. Others to Hugh Capet, and King Robert, circ. 1000. But they seem more immediately to belong to Charlemagne.

English, jealous of the glory of the French, and desirous of adorning their history with a prince equal to the boasted Charlemagne of their neighbours, formed their accomplished Arthur upon the same plan. “ Il est donc très vraisemblable, que toute l’histoire d’Arthur s’est formée sur celle de Charlemagne ; que le regne de ce dernier prince a été la source de toutes les idées romanesque, qui ont germé dans les siècles suivans.” He adds, among other supposed circumstances of correspondence, that Gawaine, Arthur’s nephew, is Charlemagne’s nephew, the renowned Roland. But this hypothesis is perhaps more specious than true. However, he allows, that our History of Jeffery of Monmouth is the original of the old French romance entitled Brut: “ Maitre Huistaches, auteur de Brut, n’est que le copiste et l’amplificateur de Geoffrei de Monmouth.”

Milton alludes to these twelve peers more than once. Speaking of Angelica,

— — Sought by many prowest knights,
Both paynim, and the peers of Charlemayne *.

That is, in a confined sense, the twelve peers of Charlemagne. And in the following passage, by Charlemagne's peerage, he does not mean his peers or nobles in a general sense, but the twelve peers, his established guard, and constant attendants in all his expeditions.

Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore,
When Charlemaine, with all his peerage fell
By Fontarabbia †. — — — —

It has been mentioned as an extraordinary circumstance, that Milton was a great reader of romances in his youth. But this is no more than what was common, in some degree, to his cotemporaries. Before the grand Rebellion, these books were in all hands; and were the source from which

* *Paradise Regained*, b. 3. v. 336.

† *Paradise Lost*, b. 1. v. 584.

young readers especially, in the age of fiction and fancy, nourished the sublime. I own, indeed, that Milton's strong imagination might receive peculiar impressions from this sort of reading.

B. iii. c. xii. s. xi.

With him went *Danger*. — —

Spenser seems to have personified danger after the example of Chaucer, who has made him a very significant character in the *Romaunt of the Rose*; but I do not remember that any circumstances in Spenser's description of him are borrowed from thence. He is again introduced as the guardian of the gate of Good Desert, in the temple of Venus, 4. 10. 18. and afterwards as an advocate for Duessa, 5. 9. 35.

Danger is also a personage in Skelton's *Bouge of Court*.

B. iv. c. i. s. xxxii.

His name was Blandamour. — —

There was an old romance which celebrated the achievements of Blandamour, which Spenser might have seen. If he had not, he probably drew the name from this hint of Chaucer,

Men speken of romances of pris,
Of Horne-child, and Ipotis,
Of Bevis, and Sir Gie,
Of Sir Libeaux *, and Blandamoure †.

B. iv. c. iv. s. xxiii.

— — — Fiercely forth he rode,
Like sparke of fire, that from the anvil glode.

* He is sometimes called Sir Libius;
And of Syr Libius,
Named Diosconius.

Skelton, p. 233. ed. 1738.

His Legend is still extant.

† Rime of Sir Topas, v. 3402.

The compiler of the Glossary to Spenser informs us, that glode signifies glanced, or, that it is written, by poetical licence, for **glowed**. As to the latter of these explanations, I do not think, that glow had acquired so vague a sense in our author's age; and where is the proof or authority for the former? Spenser undoubtedly borrowed it from the following passage of Chaucer.

His good steede he bestrode
And forth upon his way glode
As spark out of the bronde*.

Our author has here plainly borrowed the thought, as well as the particular word in question, which, however, he has differently applied. May not glode be the preter-imperfect tense of glide?

Gower has used this word in the same manner, and most beautifully. He is speak-

* Rime of Sir Topas, v. 3408.

ing of Medea, going out at midnight to gather herbs for her incantations.

Thus it befell upon a night,
Whann there was nought but sterre light,
She was vanished right as hir list,
That no wight but hirselfe wist :
And that was at midnight tide,
The world was still on every side,
With open head, and foote all bare,
His heare to sprad ; she gan to fare :
Upon hir clothes gyrte she wos,
And specheles, upon the gras
She glode forth, as an adder doth *.

B. v. c. i. s. xxv.

— — This doubtfull causes right
Can hardly but by sacrament be tride,
Or else by ordele.

So Chaucer,

Where so you list by ordal, or by othe †.

Sacrament is the oath of purgation.

* Confessio Amantis, l. v. fol. 105. edit. Berthelette.
1554. fol.

† Tr. and Cr. b. 3. v. 1048.

B. vi. c. vi. s. xii.

'Gainst all both good and bad, both most and least.

Most here signifies greatest; and in the following instances; as, more implies greater.

I do possesse the world's most regiment.

7. 7. 17.

That is, I am possessed of the greatest sway over the world.

— — All other weapons lesse or more,
Which warlike uses had devis'd of yore.

5. 8. 34.

For ere thou limit what is lesse or more.

5. 2. 34.

In Sonnet 20.

In his most pride disdaineth, &c.

Again,

What though the sea with waves continuall
Doe eat the earth, it is no more at all,
Ne is the earth the lesse. — —

5. 2. 39.

In Sonnet 55.

Thus for the world's most ornament.

Many other passages might be brought
from Spenser.

This is the language of Chaucer ; viz.

I saie, that she ne had not most fairnesse *.

That is, I do not affirm she had the greatest
share of beauty.

The grete geftes also to the most and leste †.

Again,

From Boloigne is the erle of Pavie come,
Of which the fame yspronge to most and leste ‡.

Thus we have also much or less for greater
and smaller.

* Monk's Tale, ver. 367.

† Knight's Tale, ver. 2200.

‡ Cl. of Oxenford's Tale, v. 1900.

Both of the *see*, and rivers more and lesse*.

Thus also much or lite is great and small.

But he ne left, neither for raine ne thonder,
In sickness, ne in mischief to visite
The farthest in his parish much or lite †,

And to this day much is prefixed to some villages in England as a mark of greatness. The ingenious author of *Miscellaneous Observations on Mackbeth* remarks, that in the interpolated *Mandeville*, a book printed in the age of Queen Elizabeth, there is a chapter, *Of India, the more and the less* ‡.

I had almost passed over some of the subsequent instances.

B. ii. c. vi. s. xxix.

That a large purple streame adowne their *giambeux* falls.

He probably drew *giambeux*, i. e. boots, from this passage in the *Rime of Sir Topas*.

* Frank. Tale, ver. 2600.

† Prol. ver. 494.

‡ Note 43.

His jambeux were of cure buly*.

Which line is more French than English.

Ses jambeux estoient de cuir bouilli.

i. e. " His boots were made of tanned leather."

B. vi. c. vii. s. xliii.

But in a jacket quilted richly rare
Upon Checklatoun, he was strangely dight.

Checklatoun likewise occurs in the last mentioned poem of Chaucer.

His robe was of Chekelatoun †.

Speght ‡ interprets this word a stuff of checkerwork made of cloth of gold. Skinner, a stuff of motley. But our author, in his View of the State of Ireland, has given us a more satisfactory explication of this

* Ver. 3380.

† Ver. 5243.

‡ Gloss. Chaucer.

word, as he found it in the same passage of Chaucer. " The quilted leather jack is old English : For it was the proper weed of the horseman, as you may read in Chaucer, when he describeth Sir Thopas's apparel, and armour, as he went to fight against the gyant, in his robe of checklatoun, which is that kind of gilded leather with which they used to embroider their Irish jackets."

To prick is very frequently used by Spenser, as well as by Chaucer, for, to ride ; as is many for retinue, multitude, or company. Dryden, in his inimitable music-ode, has thus used many.

The many rend the skies with loud applause.

Many also is to be found with this sense in Harrington, Shakespeare, &c.

It should not be omitted, that lad for led often occurs in Chaucer ; as it does likewise in Spenser, viz. a milk-white lamb she lad,

1. 1. 4. whom they lad, 2. 12. 84. a wretched life they lad, 4. 8. 2. to their purpose lad, 5. 12. 37. the virgin lad, 4. 12. 33. he him lad, 5. 1. 22. away was lad, 6. 10. 39.

Our author seems to have used never none, for there never was one, from an affectation of Chaucer's manner; although it must be confessed that most of our old English writers frequently join two negatives when no affirmation is intended. Hickes, after observing that a negation is often expressed in the Anglo-Saxonic by two negatives, has these words. "Editor Chauceri nihil antiqui sapiens*, dicit, ipsum imitatum fuisse

* "It is his manner likewise, imitating the Greekes, by two negatives to cause a greater negation; as, I ne said none ill." Speght's Advertisement to the Readers; prefixed to his second edition of Chaucer's works; London, printed by Adam Islip, 1602. . . . But the labours of this editor deserve by no means to be slighted, as he is the first that ever gave the public a tolerably complete edition of Chaucer; and though he is censured as one

Græcos in vehementius negando per duo negativa ; tametsi Chaucerus (literarum Græcarum ignarus) more sui temporis, in quo Saxonismus non penitus exoleverat, duobus negativis est usus*." He next produces some instances in the Saxon, where not only two, but three, and four negatives are put together with a negative signification.

It is not pretended that all the obsolete words and phrases, found in our author, are here collected, but such alone as appear to have been immediately borrowed from Chaucer. Several antique expressions are here unnoticed, which indeed are used by Chau-

antiqui nihil sapiens, yet it must be allowed that his Glossary to Chaucer, as being the first of that kind, was a very laudable undertaking ; and though the first, that it is, notwithstanding, so well executed, as to have supplied very valuable materials to some more modern glossographers upon our ancient bard.

* Linguarum Vct. Septentrional. Thesaurus. cap. 12. p. 58.

cer, but which are equally common to Lidgate, Gower, and the author of *Piers Plowman's Visions*. Spenser copied the language of most of the elder English poets, but not without distinction. Chaucer was the source from whence he confessedly drew the largest draughts, The well of English undefiled.

I cannot dismiss this Section without a wish, that this neglected author, whom Spenser proposed as the pattern of his style, and to whom he is indebted for many noble inventions, should be more universally studied. This is at least what one might expect in an age of research and curiosity. Chaucer is regarded rather as an old, than a good poet. We look upon his poems as venerable relics, not as beautiful compositions; as pieces better calculated to gratify the antiquarian than the critic. He abounds not only in strokes of humour, which is commonly supposed to be his sole talent, but of pathos,

and sublimity, not unworthy a more refined age. His old manners, his romantic arguments, his wildness of painting, his simplicity and antiquity of expression, transport us into some fairy region, and are all highly pleasing to the imagination. It is true that his uncouth and unfamiliar language disgusts and deters many readers ; but the principal reason of his being so little known, and so seldom taken in hand, is the convenient opportunity of reading him with pleasure and facility in modern imitations. For when translation, and such imitations from Chaucer may be justly called, at length becomes substituted as the means of attaining a knowledge of any difficult and ancient author, the original not only begins to be neglected and excluded as less easy, but also to be despised as less ornamental and elegant. Thus the public taste becomes imperceptibly vitiated, while the genuine model is superseded, and gradually gives way to the esta-

blishment of a more specious, but false, resemblance. Thus, too many readers, happy to find the readiest accommodation for their indolence and illiteracy, think themselves sufficient masters of Homer from Pope's translation : and thus, by an indiscreet comparison, Pope's translation is commonly preferred to the Grecian text, in proportion as the former is furnished with more frequent and shining metaphors, more lively descriptions, and in general appears to be more full and florid, more elaborate and various.

SECT. VI.

Of Spenser's Imitations of Ariosto,

THE circumstance of the Red-crosse knight and Una meeting with Archimago disguised like a hermit, who entertains them with a fictitious tale, and afterwards raises two spirits with intent to deceive the Red-crosse knight, seems to be copied from Ariosto. Angelica meets an hypocritical hermit, who raises a false spirit with a design to deceive Sacrapant and Renaldo, and to exasperate them against Orlando, &c.

Che scontro un' eremita, &c *.

* C. ii. s. 12.

But Spenser has greatly improved the hint. Archimago is again introduced after the same manner, B. 1. c. 6. s. 34. and B. 2. c. 1. s. 8.

B. i. c. ii.

This illusion effected by Archimago, who discovers a fictitious Una to the Red-crosse knight, engaged in the embraces of a young squire, seems to be imitated from the deceptions carried on in the enchanted castle of Atlanta, where many of the guests are imposed upon by false representations of the persons of their friends or mistresses; and more particularly from that passage where Orlando, after having been deluded with the appearance of a counterfeit Angelica, is made to hear her cry out for his assistance as if some ruffian was insulting and ravishing her, &c.

Dunque in presenza del mio caro Orlando
Da questo ladro mi sarà rapita ?
Piu, &c. &c *.

Helpe now or never helpe ; alas ! shall I,
In mine Orlando's sight loose my virginie ?
Harrington.

B. i. c. vii. s. xxxiii.

His warlike shield all closely covered was
Ne might of mortal eye be ever seene.
* * * * *

xxxiv.

The same to wight he never would disclose,
But when as monsters huge he would dismay,
Or daunt unequall armies, &c.
* * * * *

xli.

And when he list the prouder looks subdew
He would them gazing blind, &c.

This is the shield of Atlanta.

* C. xii. s. 15.

D' un bello drappo di seta havea coperto
 Lo Scudo in braccio il cavalier celeste,
 Come avesse, non so, tanto sofferto
 Di tenerlo nascosto in quella veste;
 Ch' immantinente, che lo mostra aperto,
 Forza e chi 'l mira abbarbagliato reste,
 E cada, come corpo morto cade *.

This heavenly hellish warrior bare a shield
 On his left arme, that had a silken case,
 I cannot any cause or reason yeeld,
 Why he should keep it coverd so long space:
 It had such force that whoso it beheld,
 Such shining light it striketh in their face,
 That down they fell, &c. — —
 Harrington.

B. i. c. viii. s. iii.

— — — Wide wonders of all
 Of that same hornes great vertues weren told.
 * * * * *

iv.

Was never wight that heard that shrilling sound
 But trembling feare did feele in every vaine.

* C. 2. s. 55.

This horn, with its miraculous effects, is borrowed from that which Logestylla presents to Astolfo.

Dico, che 'l corno è di sì orribil suono,
Ch' ovunque s' ode, fa fuggir la gente.
Non puo, &c *. — — —

An horne in which if he do once but blow
The noise thereof shall trouble men so sore,
That all both stout and faint shall flie therefro.
Harrington.

I wonder Spenser should have made so little use of this horn. He has not scrupled to introduce the shield above-mentioned, though as manifestly borrowed from Ariosto, upon various occasions.

Turpin mentions a wonderful horn which belonged to Roland†. Olaus Magnus relates, that this horn, which was called Olivant, was won, together with the sword Durenda,

* C. 15. s. 15.

† Hist. Car. Mag. cap. 23.

so much celebrated in Ariosto, from the giant Jatmundus by Roland; that its miraculous effects were frequently sung by the old Islandic bards in their spirited odes, and that it might be heard at the distance of twenty miles*. Thus, in conformity to the last circumstance, in Don Quixote we are told, that in Ronscevalles, where Charlemagne was defeated, Orlando's horn was to be seen as big as a great beam. The sounding a horn was a common expedient for dissolving an enchantment. Cervantes alludes to this incident of romance, where the Devil's horn is sounded as a prelude to the disenchanting of Dulcinea†. Boyardo and Berni have both their magical horns. Virgil's Alecto's Horn is as high and extravagant as any thing of the kind in romance.

— — — — — Cornuque recurvo
Tartaream intendit vocem, qua protenus omne

* De Aureo Cornu, &c. Hafniæ. 1541. pag. 27. 29.

† B. 7. par. 2.

Contremuit nemus, et sylvæ intonuere profundæ.
 Audiit et Triviæ longe lacus, audiit amnis
 Sulphurea Nar albus aqua *.

A strong imagination is not commonly supposed to be one of Virgil's attributes. I think he greatly excels in painting the terrible.

It is remarkable to recur to what is mentioned above, concerning the wonders of Orlando's horn being sung by the northern bards, that the old Islandic chroniclers have left us the achievements of Charlemagne, and of King Arthur, among their histories, viz, " Sagan af Karlamagnuse, &c. the history of Charlemagne, and of his champions and leaders, 1. Of his birth, coronation, &c. especially of the famous fight of Carvetus, King of Babylon, with Oddegir the Dane. 2. Of Aglandus, King of Africa, and his son

* *Æneid.* l. 7. v. 513.

Jatmundus, and of their wars in Spain, with Charlemagne. 3. Bruar thattur, of Roland &c. &c."——" Sagan af Ivent, &c. the history of Ivent, King Arthur's principal champion: containing his battles with the giants, &c."——" Historical Rhymes of King Arthur; containing his league with Charlemagne."——With many others of the same kind; particularly of the Pugiles regis Arthuri. These stories they partly new-moulded with names and facts from their own annals. Among the rest, they celebrated a king of England, not mentioned, as I recollect, in our old histories, " Sagan af Alefleck, the history of Alefleck, king of England, son of Ridgare, and of his travels into Tartary and India, &c." We have also, in their Trojoman Sagan, the history of the siege of Troy, the voyage of Jason, &c. In their Sagan af Gibbon, they mention the giant Askapart, so well-known in our old ro-

mances*. This may seem to invalidate the doctrine delivered above †, That the fictions of chivalry prevailed in Europe before the crusades. In another of their Sagas, Jarl, a magician, descended from Odin, is introduced exhibiting his feats of necromancy before Charlemagne.

B. i. c. viii. s. xlv.

Duessa, who just before appeared young and beautiful, divested of her rich apparel, is discovered to be a loathsome old woman. She is a copy of Ariosto's Alcina, who having long engaged the affections of Rogero, by the counterfeited charms of youth and beauty, is at last, by the virtue of his ring, found to be old and ugly. These circum-

* See Wanley's second vol. to Hickes's Thes. pag. 314. seq. These are all ancient Scandic manuscripts at Stockholm.

† Pag. 64.

stances of Duessa's discovery are literally
translated from the Italian poet.

A loathly wrinkled hag, ill-favour'd, old;

* * * * *

xlvi.

Her crafty head was altogether bald,

And, — — —

Was overgrowne with scurfe, and filthy scalde,

Her teeth out of her rotten gums were feld.

Pallido, crespo, e macilenta avea

Alcina il viso, il crin raro, e canuto,

* * * * *

Ogni dente di bocca era caduto *.

Her face was wan, a leane and writheld skin.

* * * * *

Her haire was gray of hue, and verie thin,

Her teeth were gone, &c. —

Harrington.

B. ii. c. iv. s. xix.

It was my fortune, &c. — — —

* C. 7. s. 73.

This tale is borrowed from the tale of Geneura, in *Orlando Furioso*, c. 4, s. 50.

B. ii. c. xi. s. xxxvii.

The difficulty which Prince Arthur finds in killing Maleger, seems to be copied from the encounter of Griffin and Aquilant with Orillo, who, like Maleger, receives no injury from all the wounds that are given him: and the circumstances by which Maleger's death is effected, partake much of the fantastic extravagance of those by which Orillo is at last killed. See *Orland. Fur.* c. 15. s. 67. &c. &c.

B. iii. c. iv. s. lix.

— — — — A mighty speare,
Which Bladud made by magicke art of yore.

* * * * *

For never wight so fast in sell could sit.
But him perforce unto the ground it bore.

This enchanted spear of Britomartis is the lance d'oro, which Astolfo presents to Bradamante.

La lancia, che di quanti ne percuote
Fà le selle restar subito vote *.

The speare, — — —
With head thereof if any touched were,
Straight ways to fall to ground they must be fayne.
Harrington.

Spenser sometimes calls it Goldelaunce.

B. iii. c. iv. s. i.

Where is the antique glory now become,
That whilome wont in women to appeare ?
Where be the brave achievements done by some ?

This introduction in praise of women
seems to be enlarged from that of Ariosto, to
c. 20.

La donne antiche hanno mirabil cose,
Fatto ne l' arme, e ne le sacre muse,
E di lor opre belle, e gloriose
Gran lume in tutto il mondo si diffuse.
Arpalice, e Camilla son famose,
Perche in battaglia erano esperte, &c.

* C. 23. s. 15.

Marvellous deeds by divers dames were donne
 In times of old, as well by sword as pen ;
 So as their glory shined like the sunne,
 And famous was both far and neare, as then
 The fame Harpalice in battel won,
 Camilla's worth, &c. — —

Harrington.

And; b. 3, c. 2. s. 1. he touches upon the
 same argument again.

Here have I cause in men just blame to find
 That in their proper praise too partiall bee,
 And not indifferent to woman-kind,
 To whom no share in armes and chivalrie
 They do impart, ne maken memorie
 Of their brave gests, and prowesse martiall ;
 Scarce do they spare to one, or two, or three,
 Roome in their writs ; yet the same writing small
 Docs all their deeds deface, and dims their glories all.

Where he seems to copy the close of the
 above introduction of Ariosto.

E forse ascosi han lor debiti onori
 L' invidia ; e il non saper degli scrittori *.

Doubtlesse the fault is either in back-biters,
Or want of skill, and judgment in the writers.
Harrington.

B. iii. c. iii. s. xx.

Merlin here discovers to Britomart her future progeny ; which he does likewise to Bradamante in Ariosto, c. 3.

B. iii. c. vii. s. lii.

But read thou squire of dames, &c. —

The tale of the Squire of Dames is a copy of the Host's tale, in Ariosto. c. 28.

B. iii. c. x. s. xlvii.

Malbecco mixes with the flock of goats, and passes for one. He might have here the escape of Ulysses from Polypheme in his eye ; but more immediately, perhaps, the like expedient made use of by Norandin, who mixes among the goats, as a goat, that he may gain access to Lucina, c. 17. s. 35. &c. Norandin, indeed, is dressed up in goat-

skins, but Malbecco's similitude is made out by his horns, which he wears as a cuckold; a fiction, the meanness of which nothing but the beautiful transformation, at the end of the Canto, could have made amends for.

B. iv. c. i. s. xiii.

With that her glistring helmet she unlaced,
Which doft, her golden locks that were upbound,
Still in a knott unto her heeles downe traced.

Marsifa thus discovers herself,

Al trar degli elmi tutti vider come
Havea lor dato ajuto una donzella.
Fa conosciuta a l' auree crespe chiome
Ed a la fascia delicata, &c *.

Now when Marsifa had put off her bever,
To be a woman everie one perceivè her.

xxv.

Her golden hair trust up with careless grace,
Her forehead faire, &c. — —

Harrington.

* C. 26. s. 28.

A few stanzas before she is compared to Bellona,

Stimato egli hauria lei forse Bellona.

St. 24.

So our author, st. 14.

Some, that Bellona in that warlike guise
To them appear'd. — — —

See a like Discovery. 3. 9. 20. 21.

Spenser's Britomart is a manifest copy of
Ariosto's Bradamante and Marsifa.

B. iv. c. ii. s. iv.

—— The bold Sir Ferraugh hight.

Sir Ferragh is one of Ariosto's knights. But it is not at the same time improbable, that Spenser might adopt this name in Ireland; this poem being written during his residence there. He informs us, in his State of Ireland, that "The Irish, in all their encounters, use a very common word, crying

Ferragh, Ferragh ; which is a Scottish word, to wit, the name of one of the first kings of Scotland, called Feragus, or Fergus." And afterwards he says, " There be yet, at this day, in Ireland, many Irishmen—called by the name of Ferragh."

B. iv. c. iii. s. xlv.

Much more of price, and of more gracious powre
Is this, then that same water of Ardenne ;
The which Renaldo drunke in happy houre,
Described by that famous Tuscan penne ;
For that had might to change the harts of men
From love to hate. — — — —

That famous Tuscan penne, Ariosto, describes two fountains in Ardenna, from one of which Renaldo drinks, and from the other Angelica.

E questo hanno causato due fontane,
Che di diverso effetto hanno liquore ;
Ambe in Ardenna, e non sono lontane.
D' amorosa disio l' una empie il core,

Chi bee dell' altra, senza amor rimane,
 E volge tutto in ghiaccio il primo ardore.
 Renaldo gustò d' una, e amor lo strugge ;
 Angelica de l' altra, e l'odia, e fugge*.

The cause of this first from two fountains grew,
 Like in the taste, but in th' effects unlike,
 Plaste in Ardenna, ech in others vew,
 Who tastes the one love's dart his heart doth strike ;
 Contrarie of the other doth ensew,
 Who drinke thereof their lovers shall mislike ;
 Renaldo dranke of one, and love much pained him,
 The other dranke this damsell, and disdained him.

HARRINGTON.

From Spenser's account of this water of Ardenne it might be concluded that Rinaldo drank of the fountain which turned love into hate ; but it appears, from this passage in Ariosto, that he drank of the fountain which produced the contrary effect. However, it is manifest that our author alludes to another stanza in Ariosto, where Rinaldo drinks of

* C. i. s. 78.

that fountain which produced the effect here described by Spenser, c. 42. s. 63.

B. v. c. ii. s. iv.

— — — — Here beyond,
A cursed cruell Sarazin doth wonne,
That keepes a bridges passage by strong hand;
And many errant knights hath there foredonne.

Thus the Pagan in Ariosto, 29. 35. keeps a bridge, which no man can pass over unless he fights with him; and which occasions many combats in the water, one of which sort is here described between Sir Arthegall and the Saracen. s. 11.

In Morte Arthur we find an account of a knight who kept a bridge, in which a circumstance is mentioned, not in Ariosto, which Spenser seems to have copied from thence, in the passage under consideration. " On the third day he rode over a long bridge; and there start upon him sodainly

a passing fowle chorle, and he smote his horse, and asked him, why he rode over that bridge without his licence *."

So Spenser,

Who as they to the passage gan to draw,
A villaine came to them with scull all raw,
That passage-money did of them require.

St. 11.

B. v. c. iii. s. xxxiv.

And called Brigadore. — — —

Brigadore is the name of the knights' horse. Briigliadoro also is the name of Orlando's horse; from Briglia d'oro, a golden bridle.

On the affectation, so common in books of chivalry, of dignifying horses, as well as knights, with pompous names, the following

* B. i. c. 111.

ridicule in Cervantes is founded. " And pray, said Sancho, how many persons will this horse carry? Two, replied the Afflicted; one upon the saddle and the other upon the crupper, and these are commonly the knight and the squire, when there is no damsel to be stolen. I should be glad to know, Afflicted Madam, what is the name of that same horse? His name, answered the Afflicted, is not like that of Bellerophon's horse, which was called Pegasus, nor does it resemble that which distinguished the horse of Alexander the Great, Bucephalus; nor that of Orlando Furioso, whose name was Brilladoro; nor Bayarte, which belonged to Reynaldo de Montalvan; nor Frontino, that appertained to Rugero; nor Bootes, nor Peritoa, the horses of the Sun; nor is he called Orelia, like that steed upon which the unfortunate Rodrigo, last king of the Goths, engaged in that battle where he lost his crown and life. I will lay a wager, cried Sancho,

that as he is not distinguished by any of those famous names of horses so well known, so neither have they given him the name of my master's horse Rozinante, &c *." After the same manner they named their swords. Thus Chrysaor is the name of Arthegall's sword; 5. 1. 9. Caliburn of King Arthur's, in *Morte Arthur*, &c. Thus too, in Ariosto, we have Rinaldo's Fusberta, Rogero's Balisarda, and Orlando's Durindana. Durinda is the name of Roland's sword in Turpin's Romance, which Ariosto and Boyardø copy so faithfully. As a specimen of that historian's style and manner, I shall present the reader with Roland's soliloquy, addressed to this sword, when he was mortally wounded by a Saracen giant. " O ensis pulcherrime, sed semper lucidissime, capulo eburneo candidissime, cruce aurea splendissime, superficie deaurate, pomo beryllino deaurate, magno no-

• Don Quixote, b. f. iii. ch. 8.

mine dei insculpte, acumine legitime, virtute omni prædite, quis amplius virtute tua utetur? Quis, &c*.” Arthur’s sword is called Mordure by Spenser; and his shield, or banner, Pridwen, and his spear Roan, by the romance-writers. Morglay was the sword of Sir Bevys of Southampton, and Galantine of Sir Gawaine. Tizona was the name they gave the sword of Roderick Diaz de Bivar, the famous Spanish general against the Moors. The French always applied the epithet joyeuse, jocose, to the sword of their grand hero Charlemagne. This, as one of their own countrymen observes, is a strong characteristic of their natural gaiety; which a phlegmatic Englishman would call ridiculous levity. “ Ils ont continuellement repandu sur toutes les images de la guerre un air d’enjouement, qui leur est propre: ils n’ont jamais parle que comme d’une fête,

* I. Turpini Hist. de Gestis Caroli Mag. cap. xxii.

d'un jeu, et d'un passe-temps. Jouer leur jeu, ont-ils dit les arbalétriers qui faisoient pleuvoir une grele de traits : Jouer gros jeu pour donner bataille : Jouer des mains ; et une infinité d'autres façons de parler semblables se recontrent souvent dans la lecture de recits militaires de nos ecrivains. Froissart, en rapportant la mort de Duc Wincelas, fait ainsi son portrait ; En celuy temps [1383] trespasa de ce siecle—le gentil et joly Duc Wincelas de Boheme, Duc de Luxembourg et de Brabant, qui en son temps, noble, frisque, sage, amoureux, et armeret avoit este *." Some of their late campaigns have begun in the same spirit ; which, however, have often ended very seriously : nor have the balls and the battles of those lively Generals, Soubise and Broglie, been always executed with equal good humour and brilliancy.

B. v. c. ix. s. xi.

M. de la Curne de S. Palaye. *supr. citat.* tom. ii. pag. 61. Not.

He is describing Guile.

Als at his back a great wide net he bore,
 With which he seldom fished at the brooke,
 But us'd to fish for fooles on the dry shore.

This net seems to be borrowed from the
 like expedient used by the giant Caligo-
 rante.

Piacer fra tanta crudelta si prende
 D'una Rete, &c *.

And in this crueltie he has great sport
 To use the service of a certaine net.

HARRINGTON.

B. vi. c. xi. s. ii.

Like as is now befallne to this faire maid,
 Faire Pastorell, &c. — — — —

The distress of Pastorell is somewhat similar to that of Ariosto's Isabel, who is seized by certain outlaws or pirates, and imprisoned in a cave, in order to be sold for a slave †.

* C. xv. s. 44. seq.

† C. xii. s. 91. seq.

This pastoral part of the *Fairy Queen* seems to have been occasioned by Sydney's *Arcadia*, and in conformity to the common fashion of the times, which abounded in pastoral poetry.

Hence our author.

Our pleasant groves which planted were with paines,
That with our musicke wont so oft to ring,
And arbors sweet in which the shepherd swaines
Were wont so oft their Pastorals to sing,
They have cut downe, and all their pleasance mard,
That now no pastoral is to be hard *.

And Hall, in the Prologue † to his *Satires*, published in 1597.

Would yee but breathe within a wax-bound quill,
Pan's seven-fold pipe, some plaintive Pastoral ;
To teach each hallow'd grove, and shrubbie hill,
Each murmuring brook, and solitarie vale,
To sound our love, and to our song accord,
Wearying echo with one changelesse word . ‡

* Tears of the Muses.

† Ibid.

‡ A Defiance to Envie, b. 1. s. 14.

And in the first Satire, he declares that he cannot follow the fashionable cant of the times.

Nor under everie bank, and everie tree,
Spake rimes unto mine oaten minstralsie*.

The Miscellanies of Queen Elizabeth's age, and of the following reign, are filled with this species of poetry, in which it was usual for every young writer, at least, to try his skill. The first collection of pastorals I have met with in English, is, I think, in "Eglogs, Epitaphs, and Sonnets, newly written by Barnabie Googe, &c, 1563."—Googe was the translator of Palingenius. The study of the Italian poets, particularly the recent publication of the *Prosa of Sannazarius*, which certainly gave rise to the *Arcadia*, produced this inundation of pastorals. Tasso's *Aminta* was now too but just pub-

* B. i. s. 1.

lished, and became extremely popular.—
 These Spenser copied ; but one of his most
 finished and elegant pastorals, December, is
 literally translated from old Clement Marot,
 which is not observed by the commentator,
 E. K. I will give great part of the French
 at length, which, as also the remainder, the
 reader may compare with the English at his
 leisure.

Un Pastoreau, qui Robin s'appelloit,

* * * * *

Parmi fausteaux, arbres qui font ombrage,

* * * * *

Chantant ainsi : O Pan, dieu souverain,

Qui de garder ne fus onc paresseux

Parcs, et brebris, et les maistres d'iceux,

Et remets sur tous gentils pastoureaux,

Quand ils n'ont prez, ne loges, ne toreaux,

Je te supply (si onc en ces bas estres

Daignas ouyr chansonnettes champestres)

Escoute un peu, de ton verd cabinet

Le chant rural de petit Robinet.

Sur le printemps de ma jeunesse folle,

Je ressemblois l'arondelle, qui volle

Puis ca, puis la : l'aage me conduisoit

Sans peur, ne soing, ou le cœur me disoit.

En la forest (sans la crainte des loups)
 Je m'en allois souvent cueilir le houx,
 Pour faire gluz a prendre oyseaux ramages,
 Tous differens de chant, et de plumages :
 On me soulois pour le prendre) entremettre
 A faire brics, ou cages pour les mettre :
 Ou transnoyos les rivières profondes,
 Ou r'enforcois sur le genoil le frondes,
 Puis d'en tirer, droit, et loing j'apprenois,
 Pour chasser loups, abattre des noix.

O quantefois aux arbres grimpe j'ay
 Pour desnicher ou la pie, ou le geay ;
 Ou pour jetter des fruits ja meurs, et beaux,
 A mes compaignes, qui tendoient leurs chapeaux.

Aucunesfois aux montaignes alloye,
 Aucunesfois aux fosses, &c.

* * * * *

Desia pourtant je faisois quelques nottes
 De chant rustique, et dessoubz les ormeaux
 Quasi enfant sonnois de chalumeaux.
 Si ne saurois bien dire, ne penser,
 Qui m'enseigna sitost d'y commencer :
 Ou la nature aux muses inclinee
 Ou ma fortune, en cela destinee
 A te servir : si ce ne fut l'un d'eux,
 Je suis certain, que ce furent tous d'euz.

Ce que voyant le bon Janot, mon pere,
 Voulut gager a Jaquet son compere,
 Contre un veau gras, deux Aignelets bessons,
 Que quelque jour je serois des chansons

A ta louenge, O Pan dieu tressacrè,
Voire chansons qui te viendroient a grè.

* * * * *

Il me souloit, une legon donner
Pour doucement la musette entonner.

* * * * *

Quand printemps fault, et l'esté comparoist,
&c*.

It has been before observed, that Spenser took his Blatant Beast from the Questing Beast in Morte Arthur. But yet I am of opinion, that in representing Scandal under the shape of a monstrous and unnatural beast, at the same time he copied Ariosto, who has figured Avarice and Jealousy under the picture of two hideous monsters; the first of which, like Spenser's Blatant Beast, attacks all conditions of life alike; enters the palace as well as the cottage, but vents his rage in a more particular manner against the clergy, sparing not even the Pope himself. She is

• Eglogue au roy souz le noms de Pan et Robin. Les Oeuvres, ed. a Paris, 1551. pag. 19. 12mo.

supposed at last to be bound by Leo X. while Jealousy is driven to her den by Rinaldo. Luther and Calvin have suffered the same significant transformations from the hands of the painters; and are often exhibited, in the churches abroad, under the forms of terrible dragons, and other detestable figures, expiring beneath the feet of triumphant popery. It seems probable, that these allegorical beasts, formed of the most frightful combinations, first took their rise from the beast in the Revelations, which “ rose out of the sea, having seven heads, and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy; and the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion *.”

* Revel. c. xiii. v. 1. 2. seq. See *Fairy Queen*, 8. 12. 23. and *Orl. Fur.* c. xxvi. s. 27. and c. lxii. s. 44.

The reader will excuse my adding, in this place, a beautiful passage which Spenser has drawn from his favourite Italian poet, in the *Mourning Muse of Thestylis*.

The blinded archer-boy,
 Like larke in showre of raine,
 Sate bathing of his wings,
 And glad the time did spend
 Under those crystall drops,
 Which fall from her faire eyes,
 And at their brightest beames,
 Him proynd in lovely wise.

*Così a la belle lagrime le piume
 Se bagna Amore, e gode al chiaro lume*.*

So the blind god, whose force no man can shunne,
 Sits in her eyes, and thence his darts doth fling;
 Bathing his wings in her cleare crystal streames,
 And sunning them in her rare beauties beames.

HARRINGTON.

Though it must be confessed that Spenser's verses bear a strong resemblance to these of Nic. Archias, of a lady weeping,

* C. xi. s. 65.

Tam suavi in pluvia nitens Cupido
 Insidebat, uti solet volucris
 Ramo, vere novo, ad novos tepores
 Post solem accipere ætheris liquores,
 Gestire et pluviae ore blandiendo *.

I shall add, that Spenser, in his *Radegond*, with her city of females, had an eye upon Ariosto's land of Amazons. It is however to be remembered, that a land of Amazons is a frequent miracle of romance, being taken from the old legends of the Trojan war.—Caxton, in his *Destruction of Troy*, gives us a chapter, "How the Queene Panthasile cam from Amazonne, with a thousand maydens, to the socoure of Troye. And how she bare her valyantly, &c †."

* See the works of Fracastorius, pag. 238. Patavii, 1718. 8vo.

† See Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historys of Troye*. This book was translated from the French of Raoul le Feure, Chaplain to the Duke of Burgundy, who compiled it A. D. 1464, from divers Latin books on the same subject. The translation was finished, A. D. 1471. It was

But although Spenser studied Ariosto with such attention, insomuch that he was ambitious of rivalling the Orlando Furioso in a poem formed on a similar plan, yet the genius of each was entirely different. Spenser, amidst all his absurdities, abounds with beautiful and sublime representations; while Ariosto's strokes of true poetry bear no proportion to his sallies of merely romantic imagination. He gives us the grotesque for the graceful, and extravagance for majesty. He frequently moves our laughter by the whimsical figures of a Callot, but seldom awakens

the first piece printed by Caxton. Lidgate had written, many years before, *The Historie, Siege, and Destruction of Troye*, at the Commandement of Kynge Henrie V. 1412, in English verse. Guido de Columpnys, mentioned in Chaucer's *House of Fame*, [iii. 381.] was, among others, a favourite author on this subject. He was of Messina in Sicily, and wrote the history of Troy in Latin, after Dictys Cretensis. 1278. Chaucer also places Dares Phrygius in his *House of Fame*, [ib. 397.] among the famous writers, poets, and historians, who were "busie for to bere up Troye."

our admiration by the just portraits of a Raphael: Ariosto's vein is essentially different from Spenser's; it is absolutely comic*, and infinitely better suited to scenes of humour, than to serious and solemn description. He so characteristically excels in painting the familiar manners, that those detached pieces in the Orlando, called the Tales, are by far the most shining passages in the poem. Many of his similies are also glaring indica-

* I cannot forbear subjoining an anecdote, which highly displays Ariosto's early and strong disposition to drollery and humour. His father one day severely chiding him, Ariosto heard him with great attention, without urging a syllable in excuse of his fault. His brother, as soon as the father was departed, asked him, why he had made no defence or reply. Ariosto answered, that he was just at that instant writing a comedy, and that he was got to a scene, in which was introduced an old man chiding his son; and that the moment his father opened his mouth, it came into his head to examine him with attention, that he might paint after nature: that he was therefore entirely engrossed in watching the gestures, tone, and expressions of his father; and never had the least thought of making him any apology. *Hist. de Theat. Ital. par Riccoboni. p. 145. Lond. 1728.*

tions of his predominant inclination to ridicule*.

But if there should be any readers, who, from some of the fictions in Orlando, would prove that its author possessed an extensive and elevated invention, let them remember,

* Thus the magician disclosing his enchanted shield, to dazzle the sight of Bradamante, is compared to a cat wantonly playing with a mouse, and at last killing it. c. iv. s. 22. Rogero fighting with the orc, a sea monster, is compared to a fly attacking a mastiff, and attempting to sting him in various parts of his body, c. x. s. 105. Alzirdo being slain by Orlando, his soldiers are said to make a noise like a herd of swine, when a wolf has seized one of their little pigs, *un tener porco*. 2. xii. s. 78. Zerbino having first insulted Gabrina, and afterwards addressing her in a gentle manner, is compared to a dog, who at first furiously assaults a stranger, but afterwards, a crust being thrown, fawns upon him. c. xx. s. 139. Orlando and Mandricard fighting together, their weapons being broke to pieces, are compared to two peasants who are drubbing each other, having quarrelled about a water-course, or boundary of land. c. xxiii. s. 83. Other examples of this sort are obvious to a reader of Ariosto. These comparisons may be said to be of the Homeric kind; but, I fear, what was simplicity in Homer is burlesque in Ariosto.

that these are commonly borrowed from romances, and applied by the poet to the tenor of his allegory. Yet even here, he gives no proofs of a strong imagination. For although romances were his ground-work, yet it appears, that he was more fond of imitating their enormous improbabilities, than of adorning his poetry with the more glorious and genuine colourings of their magnificent conceptions.

Ariosto's mixture of burlesque and serious is thus defended by Gravina. " Ariosto could not have attained his end, nor could his readers have reaped that instruction which poetry aims at, if this poem had not described not only great actions in general, but, in some places, those that are mean and low. So that by this conduct, every passion, and every species of behaviour was imitated. Whence the reader might perceive what he should avoid or embrace in

the common practice of civil life, according to the beauty or deformity of each object so described. This mixture of various persons, introduced with art, not only resembles the productions of nature, which are never simple, but always compounded, but is by no means unsuitable to the common course of heroic actions, which are still carried on by the co-operations of inferior instruments and agents.—Wherefore, after the example of Homer, Ariosto did not imagine that sublimity excluded a moderate and necessary use of mean personages. To such a variety of persons and things it was requisite also to adapt a variety of style*.”

Voltaire observes truly, “ Les Grecs et les Latins employèrent d’abord la poesie à peindre les objects sensibles de toute la nature. Homere exprime tout ce qui frappe les yeux;

* Della Ragion Poetica. ed. Naples, 1716. lib. ii. c. 16. pag. 205.

les François, qui n'ont guere commence à perfectionner la grande poesie qu'au un Theatre, n'ont pû et n'ont dû exprimer alors que ce qui peut toucher l'ame. Nous nous sommes interdits nous-memes insensiblement presque tous les objects que d'autres nations ont osè prendre. Il n'est rien que le Dante n'exprimât, a l'exemple des anciens : il accoutuma les Italiens a tout dire. Mais nous, comment pourrions-nous aujourd'hui imiter l'auteur des Georgiques, qui nomme sans detour tous les instruments de l'agriculture *?"

After all, may we not ask, Does not the nature of heroic poetry consist in a due selection of objects? Are not importance and dignity its essential properties? Is it not its

* Disc. de M. Voltaire, a l'academie François. Oeuvres, p. 181. tom. 5. 1756. 8vo. See Boileau's Dissertation sur la Joconde. Oeuvres. Paris, 1747. p. 86. tom. iii. 8vo.

immediate province to separate high from low, fair from deformed ; to compound rather than to copy nature, and to present those exalted combinations, which never existed together, amid the general and necessary defects of real life ?

SECT. VII.

Of Spenser's Inaccuracies.

FEW poets appear to have composed with greater rapidity than Spenser. Hurried away by the impetuosity of imagination, he frequently cannot find time to attend to the niceties of construction; or to stand still and revise what he had before written, in order to prevent contradictions, inconsistencies, and repetitions. Hence it is, that he not only fails in the connexion of single words, but of circumstances: not only violates the rules of grammar, but of probability, truth, and propriety.

A review of these faults, which flow, perhaps, from that cause which produced his

greatest beauties, will tend to explain many passages in particular, and to bring us acquainted with his manner in general.

I shall begin with his ellipsts, in which the reader will find his omission of the relative to be frequent.

B. i. c. vi. s. x.

As when a greedy wolf through hunger fell,
A silly lamb far from the flocke doth take,
Of whom he means his bloody feast to make,
A lyon spyes fast running towards him.

He should have said, a greedy wolf *who* through hunger fell.

B. i. c. vii. s. xxxvii.

A gentle youth, his dearely loved squire,
His speare of heben wood behind him bare,
A goodly person, and could menage faire,
His stubborne steede, &c. — — —

Who is omitted before could menage faire.

B. i. c. x. s. xlii.

Whose face he made all beasts to feare, and gave
 All in his hand.— — — — —

That is, into *whose* hand he gave all.

B. i. c. xi. s. xxi.

He cryde as raging seas are wont to roare,
 When wintry storme his wrathfull wreck doth threat,
 The roaring billowes beat the rugged shore,
 As they the earth would shoulder from her seat
 And greedy gulfe devour. — — —

Some such word as *while* is to be understood before the roaring billowes.

B. i. c. x. s. li.

Whose staggering steps thy steadie hand doth lead
 And shews the way his sinfull soule to save.

He should have said, and to *which* it shews
 the way.

B. iii. c. ii. s. xlv.

Which lovst the shadow of a warlike knight,
 No shadow, but a body hath in powre.

No shadow, but *which* a body, &c.

B. ii. c. viii. s. xxxviii.

With that he strooke, and th' other strooke withall,
That nothing seemd mote beare so monstrous might,
The one upon his cover'd shield did fall
And glauncing downe did not his owner bite,
But th' other did upon his troncheon smite.

The one upon his, &c. That is, the *stroke*,
or *sword* of the one, &c.

And afterwards,

But th' other, i. e. the *stroke* of the other,
&c.

So again,

So sorely he her strooke that thence it glaunct
Adowne her backe. — — —

4. 6. 13.

That is, the *weapon* glaunct, &c.

B. iv. c. vi. s. xxxvii.

Ne in his face, nor blood or life appear'd,
But senselesse stood, &c.

That is, *he* senselesse stood.

B. iv. c. vii. s. vii.

But certes was with milke of wolves and tigers fed,

But certes *he* was, &c.

B. i. Introduct. s. ii.

Whom that most noble Briton prince so long
Sought through the world, and suffred so much ill,

He should have said, and *for whom* he suffered, &c.

B. i. c. x. s. xii.

The eldest — — — —

Like sunny beames threwe from her crystall face,
That could have daz'd the rash beholders sight;
And round about her head did shine like heavens light.

That could have daz'd, i. e. That *which*,
&c.

That put for that which occurs in other places, and may mislead a reader not acquainted with Spenser's manner.

Thus again,

That erst him goodly arm'd, now most of all him
harm'd.

1. 11. 27.

That one did reach, the other pusht away.

That one did make, the other mard againe.

4. 1. 29.

He should not have omitted *which* in the last verse of the text, and *which* round about her, &c.

And in the following.

—— To think gold *that* is brass.

6. Introd. 5.

This was a common fault of his age ; and our liturgy affords a similar instance of it.
“ To do always that is righteous in thy sight.”

B. i. c. x. s. xliii.

Had charge the tender orphanes of the dead,
And widows ayde. — — — —

That is, widows *to* ayde.

B. i. c. xii. s. ix.

The sight with idle feare did them dismay,
 Ne durst approche him nigh. — — —

Ne durst *they* approche him nigh, &c.

B. ii. c. ii. s. xxxviii.

As gentle hind, whose sides with cruell steele
 Through lanced, forth her bleeding life doth raine,
 Whiles the sad pang approaching she doth feele,
 Brayes out her latest breath. — — —

She should have been inserted before brayes
 out. &c.

B. ii. c. ii. s. xvii.

Sterne melancholy did his courage pass,
 And was (for terror more) all arm'd in shining brass.

He means, and *he* was for, &c.

B. ii. c. iv. s. ix.

And eke that hag with many a bitter threat
 Still cald upon to kill him in the place.

That is, still called upon *him* to, &c.

B. v. c. iii. s. xiii.

Which when he had perform'd, then backe againe
To Bragadocchio did his shield restore.

To Bragadocchio *he* did, &c.

B. i. c. iii. s. v.

Soon as the royal virgin he did spy,
With gaping mouth at her ran greedily.

That is, *he* ran, &c.

B. i. c. i. s. iv.

Seemed in heart some hidden care she had.

For *it* seemed, &c.

The impersonal *seem* was often used without *it*. As in Januarie.

May *seeme* he lov'd. — — —

In Februarie.

Seemeth thy flocks thy counsel can.

In May.

Seemed she saw in her youngling's face
The old lincaments of his father's grace.

Meseemeth is also used in the same manner.
Thus.

Meseemed by my side a royall maid
Her daintie limbes full softly down did lay.
1. 9. 13.

Thus also, at a masque, in which Henry VIII. came disguised, with twelve masquers, noblemen of the court, to surprise Cardinal Wolsey, while he was sitting at a banquet; the cardinal, suspecting there was some great personage among them, says, “ *Meseemeth* there should be a nobleman among them, who is more meete to occupie this place and seate than I am, &c.” And afterwards, fixing on one of the masquers whom he supposes to be the king, “ *Meseemes* the gen-

tleman with the black beard should be even
hee, &c *."

The same omission occurs before other
impersonals.

Now said the lady *draweth* toward night.

1. 1. 32.

So again,

So easy *was* to quench his flamed mind.

2. 8. 4.

B. i. c. i. s. x.

Farthest from end, then when they nearest ween.

* Stowe's Annals, ed. 1614. fol. 504. 505. "When it pleased the king, for his recreation, to repaire to the cardinal's house, [Whitehall] as he did divers times in the yeere, there wanted no preparations or furniture. Banquets were sett forth, with maskes and mummeries, in so gorgeous a sort, and costlie manner, that it was an heaven to behold. There wanted no dames, or damosels, meete or apte to daunce with the maskers, or to garnish the place for the time. Then was there all kinde of musicke and harmony, with fine voices, both of men and children." Ibid.

Themselves is omitted, the proper accusative to *ween*. Unless he gave it *them* for *then*.

B. i. c. x. s. lxii.

As for loose loves are vaine, and vanish into nought.

As for loose loves *they* are vaine, &c.

In these lines,

Was underneath enveloped with gold,
Whose glistring gloss darkned with filthy dust.

2. 8. 4.

says Dr. Jortin, *darkned* is put for was darkned; and, among other instances of Spenser's ellipsis, produces the following, in the Tears of the Muses.

And all the sisters rent their golden hairs,
And their fair faces with salt humour steep. —

steep for *did* steep.—Of this sort there is an ellipsis in these lines of Milton's Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester.

Her high birth, and graces sweet,
 Quickly found a lover meet ;
 The virgin-quire for her request
 The God that sits at marriage-feast.

The poet when he wrote *request* had forgot
 that his former preter-imperfect tense, *found*,
 was formed without the sign, *did*.

It may not be impertinent to remark, that
 the Marchioness lamented in this Epitaph of
 Milton, is probably the same with that cele-
 brated by Jonson, in an Elegie on the Lady
 Anne Pawlett, Marchioness of Winton ; the
 beginning of which Pope seems to have
 thought of when he wrote his pathetic Verses
 to the Memory of an unfortunate Lady.

Jonson begins his Elegie,

What gentle ghost, besprent with April dew,
 Hayles me so solemnly to yonder yew ?
 And beck'ning wooes me, &c &c.

In the Underwood.

In the same strain Pope beautifully breaks out,

What beck'ning ghost along the moonlight shade,
Invites my steps, and points to yonder glade?
'Tis she*. — — — — —

As Jonson now lies before me, I may, perhaps, be pardoned for pointing out another passage in him, which Pope probably remembered when he wrote the following.

From shelves to shelves see greedy Vulcan roll;
And lick up all their physic of the soul †.

Thus Jonson, speaking of a parcel of books,

These, hadst thou pleas'd either to dine or sup,
Had made a meale, for Vulcan to lick up ‡.

I shall now produce some instances of Spenser's confused construction.

* Bish. Warburton's edit. vol. i.

† Dunciad. b. iii. v. 81.

‡ An Execration upon Vulcane, in the Underwood.

B. i. c. iii. s. xii.

Till seeing by her side the lyon stand
 With sudden feare her pitcher downe she threw,
 And fled away; for never in that land
 Face of faire lady did she ever view,
 And that dred Lyons looke her cast in deadly hew.

After having told us, that seeing the lyon stand by her she fled away for fear, he adds, that this was because she had never seen a lady before, which certainly was no reason why she should fly from the lyon. What our author intended to express here, was, that "at seeing the lyon, and so beautiful a lady, an object never seen before in that country, she was affrighted, and fled."

B. i. c. vi. s. v.

— — — He gan the fort assaile,
 Whereof he weend possessed soone to bee,
 And with rich spoile of ransackt chastitie.

Of which he weend soone to be possessed, is not improper; but to be possessed with rich spoile, &c. is very inaccurate. Here

seems to be likewise somewhat of an ellipsis, and I think he should have said, rich spoile of its ransackt chastitie.

B. i. c. x. s. xl.

The fourth appointed by his office was
 Poor prisoners to relieve with gracious ayde,
 And captives to redeeme with price of brass,
 From Turks and Sarazins which them had staid.
 And though they faultie were, yet well he waid
 That God to us forgiveth everie howre,
 Much more than that why they in bands were laid.

The poet says, that his office was to relieve prisoners, and to redeem captives with money from Turkish slavery; who, though guilty of crimes, yet he considered that God every hour pardons crimes much greater than those for which they were imprisoned. By this it should seem, that those enslaved by the Turks were guilty of crimes, &c. but the poet would signify by they faultie were, the prisoners first mentioned, who were deservedly imprisoned on account of their crimes.

Another instance of our author's inaccuracy is his tautology, or repetition of the same circumstances.

B. iv. c. xii. s. i.

For much more eath to tell the starres on hy,
 Albe they endlesse seeme, &c.
 Then to recount the seas posteritie.

The difficulty of numbering the deities present at the marriage of Thames and Medway, he expresses in the same manner, in the stanza immediately preceding.

The which more eath it were for mortall wight,
 To tell the sands, or count the starres on hye.

B. vi. c. vi. s. iv.

For whylome he had been a doughty knight,
 As any one that lived in his dayes,
 And proved oft in many a perilous fight,
 In which he grace and glory won alwaies;
 And in all battles bore away the bayes;
 But being now attackt with timely age
 And wearie of this world's unquiet waies,
 He tooke himselfe unto this hermitage.

All this we were told a few lines before.

And soothly it was said by common fame,
 So long as age enabled him thereto,
 That he had been a man of mickle name,
 Renowned much in arms, and derring doe;
 But being aged now, and weary too
 Of warres delights, and worlds contentious toyle,
 The name of knighthood he did disavow,
 And hanging up his arms, and warlike spoile,
 From all the worlds incumbrance did himselfe assoile.
 C. v. s. 37.

To this head we may refer the redundancies
 of a word.

B. iii. c. vi. s. xi.

It fortun'd faire Venus having lost
 Her little son, the winged god of love,
 * * * * *

xii.

Him for to seeke she left her heavenly house.

She is unnecessary in the last line, as *faire Venus* is the nominative case. Other instances of this fault might be produced. These are sufficient to shew our author's manner in this point.

I shall now cite some instances in which he contradicts himself, and runs into other absurdities, in consequence of forgetting, or not reviewing, what he had before written; and, in general, from an hasty manner of composition.

B. i. c. iv. s. viii.

Speaking of Pride, he says, she

— — — Shone as Titan's ray.

And in the following stanza he compares her to Phaeton, where he says, she

Exceeding shone, like Phœbus fairest child.

S. 9.

This is a very striking anticlimax.

B. i. c. xi. s. xlvii.

Another faire like tree eke grew thereby,
Whereof whoso did eat, riftsoones did know
Both good and evil: O mournfull memory,
That tree thro' one man's fault has done us all to die.

Here he tells us, that the tree of knowledge occasioned the fall of man; in the preceding stanza, he had affirmed the same of the tree of life.

The tree of life the crime of our first father's fall.

S. 46.

B. ii. c. i. s. xxvi, xxvii.

In these stanzas Sir Guyon suddenly abases his spear, and begs pardon of the Red-crosse knight, for having attacked him; as if he had just now discovered him to be the Red-crosse knight: whereas he knew him to be so. st. 19. and after that resolves to fight with him.

B. iv. c. v. s. xxxvii.

Speaking of Care,

He like a monstrous giant seemd in sight,
Far passing Brontes, and Pyracmon great.

If Care was so monstrous a giant, how

could he dwell, with his six servants, in the little cottage above-mentioned ?

They spide a little cottage, like some poore man's nest.
S. 32.

B. iv. c. i. s. liv.

The aged dame him seeing so enraged,
Was dead with feare, &c.

The aged dame Glauce might have easily pacified Sir Scudamore, in this place, by telling him, that Britomartis was a woman ; and as she was so much terrified, it was highly natural that she should assure him of it. But such a declaration would have prevented an entertaining surprise, which the poet reserved for a future canto. 4. 6. 28.

B. i. c. ix. s. vi.

Aread, Prince Arthur. — — — —

Arthur and Una have been hitherto represented as entire strangers to each other ;

and it does not appear how Una became acquainted with the name of this new knight.

B. i. c. viii. s. xliii, &c.

It is unnatural, that the Red-crosse knight should be so suddenly reconciled to Una, after he had forsaken her for her supposed infidelity and impurity. The poet should certainly first have brought about an eclairsissement between them.

B. vi. c. xi. s. li.

It was an instance of Sir Calidore's courage to restore to Coridon his flocks; but not of his courtesie, to carry away his mistress Pastorell. The poet should have managed the character of his Patron of Courtesie with more art.

Courtesie was one of the cardinal virtues of knight errantry. Of this accomplishment, Sir Gawain, King Arthur's nephew, was es-

teemed the chief pattern. Chaucer, to give the highest idea possible of the reverence and obeisance with which the Strange Knight, on his brazen horse, salutes Cambuscan and his Queen, compares him to Sir Gawaine.

This straunge knight, that come thus sodeinly,
 All armid, save his hede, full royally,
 Saluted the king and queene, and lordis all,
 By ordir as they sittin in the hall,
 With so hie reverence and obeisaunce,
 As well in speche as in countinaunce,
 That Syr Gawayne with his old curtesie,
 Although he come agen out of Fairie,
 He could him nought amendin in no worde*.

As Spenser has drawn the character of his hero, Prince Arthur, from history, he has limited himself to a particular period of real time, in which all the events of his poem, however fictitious or imaginary, are supposed to have happened. Upon this account, all discoveries since made are improperly intro-

* Squier's Tale, 110.

duced. He is guilty of many such anachronisms. I shall mention one or two, which haste will hardly excuse. His historical mistakes of this kind are often pardonable; perhaps sometimes allowable.

B. vi. c. ii. s. v.

All in a woodman's jacket he was clad
Of Lincolne greene. — — — —

It would be difficult to prove that a manufacture of green cloth subsisted at Lincoln, in the fairy reign of Arthur. By the way, Skelton mentions this colour in Elinor Ruming. It is also found in Drayton's Polyolbion. It is the same sort of absurdity to describe the walls of Castle Joyeus as adorned with costly tapestry made at the cities of Arras and Toure.

The walls about were rich apparelled
With costly cloth of Arras and of Toure.

3. 1. 34.

B. i. c. xi. s. xiv.

And evermore their hideous ordinance
Upon the bulwarks cruelly did play.

Chaucer, in his description of the battle of Antony and Cleopatra, mentions guns*. Salvator Rosa has placed a cannon at the entrance of the tent of Holofernes. But these examples will not acquit Spenser. Ariosto was somewhat more cautious in this particular. For though he supposes the use of fire arms, on a certain occasion, in the age of Charlemagne, yet he prudently suggests that they were soon afterwards abolished, and that the use of them continued unknown for many years. He attributes the revival, no less than the invention of these infernal engines, to the devil. c. 11. 22.

It has been before observed, that Milton copied the invention of fire arms from

* Leg. of Cleopatra, ver. 58.

Ariosto. We may further observe, that Milton copies from himself in the speech of one of the fallen angels, on their new-invented weapons.

— They shall fear we have disarm'd
The thunderer of his only dreaded bolt*.

This is from his Latin epigram, *In Inventorem Bombardæ*.

At mihi major erit, qui lurida creditur arma,
Et trifidum fulmen surripuisse Jovi.

There are likewise other strokes, both of expression and sentiment, which Milton has transferred, from the smaller poems, into his great work. In *Samson Agonistes*.

Thrice she assayd with flattering pray'rs and sighs
And amorous reproaches, &c.
Thrice I deluded her †. — — —

* *Paradise Lost*, ver. 490.

† Ver. 392.

This form he has exactly repeated in Paradise Lost.

Thrice he assay'd, and thrice, in spite of scorn,
Tears, such as angels weep, burst forth *. —

In Comus.

— — A perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets
Where no crude surfeit reigns.

In Paradise Lost.

Quaff immortality and joy, secure
Of surfeit †. — — —

In Comus.

A thousand liveried angels lackey her.

The following, in Paradise Lost, is a kindred image,

About her as a guard angelick plac'd †.

* i. 619.

† v. 638.

‡ viii. 559.

Among Milton's Imitations of Himself, I
think the following have been unobserved.
In *Il Penseroso*,

Sometimes let gorgeous Tragedy
In scepter'd pall come sweeping by,
Presenting Thebes, or Pelops' line,
Or the Tale of Troy divine.

It appears, that the Greek tragedies,
founded upon these stories, made an early
and lasting impression on Milton. In his
first elegy to Deodatus, written before he
was arrived at his twentieth year, he particu-
larises those dramas; where, as in the lines
just cited, he is speaking of tragedy in
general.

Seu mæret Pelopea domus, seu nobilis Ili,
Seu luit incestos aula Creontis avos *.

In *L'Allegro*,

— — — Lydian aires
Married to immortal verse.

* B. i. El. 1.

Thus, at a solemn music,

— — — Voice and verse
Wed your divine sounds. —

In Comus,

Plucking ripe clusters from the tender shoots.

Cf a vine, in the Translation of Psalm,
lxxx.

— — — Make their food
Her grapes and tender shoots.

In Paradise Regained,

Tall stripling youths, rich clad, of fairer hue
Than Ganymed or Hylas *. — —

He singles out these, as two beautiful boys,
in one of his Latin elegies.

Talis in æterno, Juvenis Sigeius, Olympo,
Miscet amatori pocula plena Jovi :
Aut qui formosas pellexit ad oscula nymphas,
Thiodomanteus Naiade raptus Hylas †.

* Æl. 352.

† B. i. El. 7.

In the first of which verses he had an eye to this of Tibullus,

T'alis in æterno felix Vertumnus Olympo *.

Milton takes all opportunities of illustrating the power of music, and of expressing his extreme fondness for it: These verses, in Comus, relating to that subject,

— — — — — Sylla wept,
And chid her barking waves into attention,
And fell Charybdis murmur'd hoarse applause,

strongly resemble what Silius Italicus describes of a Sicilian shepherd playing on his reed,

Scyllæi tacuere canes, stetit atra Charybdis f.

But shall we suspect Milton of plagiarism because the Roman poet wrote first? Was it not natural for either poet, in expressing the force of music in the Isle of Sicily, to men-

* B. iv. 2.

† Bel. Pun. xiv. 476.

tion it's influence on two most implacable objects, which the situation of the musician, in both cases, suggested?

The fable of the garden of the Hesperides seems to have affected the imagination of Milton in a very particular manner, as his allusions to it are remarkably frequent, viz.

And Ladies of th' Hesperides *. —

But beauty, like the fair Hesperian tree,
Laden with blooming gold †.

All amidst the gardens fair
Of Hesperus, and his daughters three,
That sing about the golden tree ‡.

Like those Hesperian gardens fam'd of old §.

— — — Hesperian fables true,
If true, here only, &c. ||.

* Par. Reg. ii. 357.

† Comus. ‡ Ibid.

§ Par. Lost, iii. 568.

|| Ibid. iv. 520.

— — — And verdant iles
Hesperian*.

And in the original draught of the spirit's
prologue to Comus, he had painted these
delicious islands with the utmost luxuriance
of fancy.

In Lycidas,

Weep no more, wofull shepherds, weep no more,
For Lycidas, your sorrow, is not dead.

* * * * *

— Lycidas sunk low, but mounted high,

* * * * *

Where other groves, and other streams along,
With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves,
And hears the unexpressive nuptial song,
In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love,
There entertain him all the saints above,
In solemn troops, and sweet societies,
Who sing, and singing in their glory move,

* * * * *

Henceforth thou art the genius of the shore.

* Par. Lost, viii. 631.

The same cast of thought dictated similar sentiments on a similar occasion.

Nec te Lethæo fas quævisse sub Orco,
 Nec tibi conveniunt lacrymæ, nec flebimus ultra,
 Ite procul lacrymæ, purum colit æthera Damon,
 Heroumque animas inter, divosque perennes,
 Æthereos haurit latices. — — —
 — — — Quin tu cæli post jura recepta
 Dexter ades, placidusque fave quicumque vocaris,
 Seu tu noster eris Damon, sive æquior audis
 Diodotus, quo te divino nomine cuncti
 Cœlicolæ norint, sylvisque vocabere Damon.

* * * * *

En etiam tibi virginei servantur honores ;
 Ipse caput nitidum cinctus rutilante corona,
 Lætæque frondentis gestans umbracula palmæ,
 Æternum perages immortales Hymenæos ;
 Cantus ubi, choreisque furit lyra mista beatis*.

The notion of the spirit being present at the celestial symphony, the unexpressive song, is again described in the Latin poem ad Patrem.

* Epitaphium Damonis.

Spiritus æthereos qui circinat aureus orbes,
 Nunc quoque æthereis intercinit ipse choreis,
 Immortale melos, et inenarrabile carmen.

In Comus.

How charming is divine philosophy!
 Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
 But musical as is Apollo's lute.

So in Paradise Regained,

Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,
 Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to th' ear,
 And tuneable as sylvan pipe or song*.

So also in the Tractate of Education.—

“ I shall not detain you longer in the demonstration of what we should not do; but strait conduct you to a hill-side, where I will point ye out the right path of a virtuous and noble education, laborious indeed at the first ascent, but also so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds,

* B. i. v. 478.

that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming*.

It may not be disagreeable to give a sketch of the analogy between some passages in Milton's poetical and prose works, hitherto not compared. The following is a most beautiful simile in *Paradise Lost*.

— — — — — As when a scout,
Through dark and desert ways with peril gone,
All night, at last by break of chearfull dawn,
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of some foreign land,
First seen, or some renown'd metropolis,
With glistening spires, and pinnacles adorn'd,
Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams †.

Its ground-work is laid in the following passage from his *History*. "By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travelled through a region of

* Edit. Lond. 1725, 12mo. pag. 344.

† B. iii. v. 543.

smooth or idle dreams, our history now arrives on the confines where daylight and truth meet us with a clear dawn, representing to our view, though at a far distance true colours and shapes*.”

In L'Allegro.

Where the great sun begins his state,
Robed in flames and amber light
The clouds in thousand liveries dight.

So in a very puerile description of the morning, in one of his Prolusions, “ Ipsa quoque tellus, in adventum solis, cultiori se induit vestitu, nubesque juxta variis chlamydatæ coloribus, &c †.”

In the poem, At a Vacation Exercise in the College, &c.

* Birch's Edit. Milton's Prose Works, vol. ii. pag. 12.

† Ibid. vol. ii. pag. 586.

— — The deep transported mind may soar
 Above the wheeling poles, and at heav'ns door
 Look in. — — — — —

* * * * *

Then passing through the spears of watchfull fire
 And misty regions of wide air next under,
 And hills of snow, and lofts of piled thunder.

So in another Prolusion, written perhaps
 about the same time. “ Nec dubitatis, au-
 ditores, etiam in cælos volare, ibique illa
 multiformia nubium spectra, niviumque co-
 cervatam vim contemplemini.—Grandinis-
 que exinde loculos inspicite, et armamenta
 fulminum perscrutemini *.”

In Arcades, the genius thus divinely speaks
 of the music of the spheres.

— — — — — Listen I
 To the celestial syrens harmony,
 That sit upon the nine-enfolded spheres,
 And sing to those that hold the vital shears,

* Birch's Edit. vol. ii. pag. 591.

And turn the adamantine spindle round,
 On which the fate of gods and men is wound.
 Such sweet compulsion doth in musick lie,
 To lull the daughters of necessity,
 And keep unsteady nature to her law,
 And the low world in measur'd motion draw
 After the heavenly tune, which none can hear
 Of human mold, with gross unpurged ear.

In a Prolusion on the same subject, we read much the same platonic sentiments.—
 “ Quod autem nos hanc minime audiamus harmoniam, sane in causa videtur esse furacis Promethei audacia, quæ tot mala hominibus invexit, et simul hanc felicitatem nobis abstulit, qua nec unquam frui licebit, dum, sceleribus cooperti, belluinis cupiditatibus obrutescimus.—At si pura, si casta, si nivea gestaremus pectora—tum quidem suavissima illa stellarum circummeantium musica personarent aures nostræ, et opplerentur—Per id, [Pythagoras] innuere voluit amicissimos orbium complexus, æquabilesque in æternum ad fixam fati legem concur-

siones.—Hunc secutus est Plato, dum cæli orbibus sirenes quasdam insidere tradidit *.”

I shall conclude this digression with observing, that Milton's peculiar genius for describing divine things, which shines with so distinguished a lustre in the *Paradise Lost*, discovered itself in his most early productions. In his juvenile poems we read frequent descriptions of the bliss and splendor of heaven, of the glory of celestial beings, of angelic music, and other abstracted objects, to which the fancy soars,

Beyond the visible diurnal sphere.

Of this the passages cited above from *Lycidas*, and *Epitaphium Damonis*, the Odes on the Nativity, Circumcision, at a Solemn Music, &c. are convincing testimonies. Even at the age of seventeen, we find that a dis-

* Pag. 588. et seq. De Sphær. con.

position to conceive ideas of this kind began to dawn in his imagination.

Donec nitentes ad fores
Ventum est Olympi, et regiam chrystallinam, et Stratum smaragdis Atrium.

But these are the ideas of a mind deeply tinctured with romance-reading ; to which, perhaps, and to the puritanical cast of the times, which led to religious subjects, we owe the general argument, and, most confessedly, many particular descriptions of the noblest effort of modern poetry, the *Paradise Lost* *.

* Cervantes and Milton, who both had studied the same books with pleasure, both express the idea of a prodigious concourse of people by the same simile from Romance. *Par. Reg. iii. 336.*

Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
When Agrican with all his northern powers
Besieg'd Albracca, as romances tell,
The city of Gallaphrone, from thence to win
The fairest of her sex, Angelica
His daughter ; sought by many prowest knights,
Both paynim and the peers of Charlemagne :
Such and so numerous was their chivalry.

But to return to Spenser.—To these must be added, some of his ambiguities.

B. i. c. vii. s. xlv.

Bred in the loathy lakes of Tartary.

The poet should not have used Tartary here for Tartarus, as it might be so easily mistaken for the country of that name. He has committed the same fault in Virgil's Gnat.

Lastly the squalid lakes of Tartarie.

Thus Cervantes, D. Quix. b. ii. ch. 2. "For before we are two hours in these cross-ways, we shall see armed men more numerous than those that came to Albracca, to win Angelica the Fair." Agrican, the King of Tartary, brings into the field two millions two hundred thousand men: Sacrapante, the King of Circassia, who comes to the assistance of Gallaphrone, three hundred and eighty-two thousand. It is from Boiardo, Orl. Inam. i. 10. Perhaps it will be thought, that Cervantes has here by far exceeded Milton in the propriety of introducing and applying this extravagant fiction.

B. ii. c. x. s. xv.

Did head against them make, and strong munificence.

By munificence our author signifies defence, or fortification; from *munio* and *facio*. This is a word injudiciously coined by Spenser, as the same word in our language signifies quite another thing. Milton, perhaps, is more blameable for a fault of this kind.

Now had they brought the work, by wondrous art
Pontifical *. — — — — —

As the ambiguous term pontifical may be so easily construed into a pun, and may be interpreted *papish* as well as *bridge-making*. Besides the quaintness of the expression.

B. iii. c. i. s. xxxvi.

And whilst he bathd with her two crafty spyers
She secretly would search each dainty lim.

* Paradise Lost. x. 313.

Crafty spies is here a periphrasis for eyes, but a very inartificial one; as it may so easily be mistaken for two persons whom she employed, with herself, to search, &c.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



I N D E X

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME.

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